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PROC. & TRAN. OF THE
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पुस्तकालय



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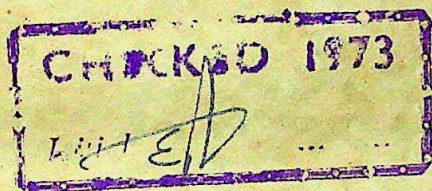
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PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE
TWELFTH SESSION
BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY
1943-44



VOLUME III

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY
1948

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VOLUME III

Archæology, Philology, Technical
Sciences and Iranian Sections

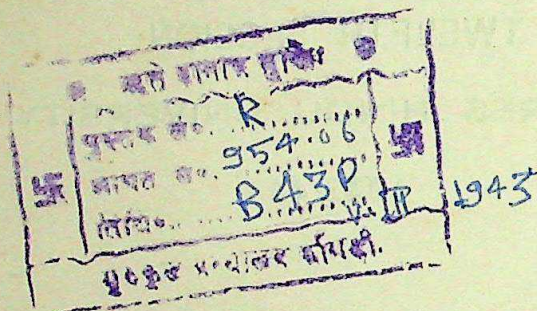
Edited by

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT.,
The Local Secretary.

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

1948

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Copies of this Volume can be had by the members of the 12th session of the Conference from the Local Secretary, Benares Hindu University, and by others from the Hon. Secretary, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4.

Printed in India
at the Benares Hindu University Press, Benares.
by
RAMA KRISHNA DAS.

PREFACE TO VOLUME III.

Volume III of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Twelfth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at the Benares Hindu University in 1943-44, which is being published today, contains papers selected for publication in the following sections,—Archæology, Philology, Technical Sciences and Iranian.

With the publication of the present Volume, the Proceedings and Transactions of the 12th Session may be taken to have been completed for all practical purposes. Vol. II, which was published in October 1946, contained all the presidential addresses and the papers in the following sections,—Vedic, Classical Sanskrit, Religion and Philosophy, Pali and Buddhism, Prakrit and Jainism and History, Geography, Ethnology and Folk-lore. Volumes I and IV were published almost simultaneously last month; the latter of these contained the papers in Sanskrit and Hindi sections and the former was devoted to the formal part of the Proceedings,—Bulletins, Programme, Minutes of Meetings, List of Members, etc. The present volume includes papers of four of the remaining sections,—Archæology, Philology, Technical Sciences and Iranian.

Papers of two more sections remain to be published ; they are Persian and Arabic and Islamic Culture. It is, however, feared that these papers have been destroyed in the unfortunate disturbances that broke out in Lahore in August 1947. Proprietors of the press, who are at present refugees in India, have no idea as to what has happened to their press and its stock. For all practical purposes, therefore, we have to conclude that the papers of these sections have been destroyed. The publication of the Proceedings of the 12th Session may, therefore, be taken to have been completed with this volume.

Being myself an author, I can fully realise the feelings of those writers, whose papers took nearly four years to see the light of the day with the publication of the present volume. We had, however, to surmount several serious difficulties. Paper was very difficult to procure and presses were not available for undertaking the printing of matter, which was not of the nature of text books. Presses, which were selected, had to face several labour troubles and their work was often paralysed by communal disturbances. At one stage it appeared very doubtful, if the

present volume would at all see the light of the day. Luckily all difficulties could be overcome and I am feeling relieved to find that I have eventually discharged the responsibility of the Reception Committee to print all the papers accepted and available for publication.

Four Volumes of the Proceedings that are offered to members cover 918 pages. As the printing work was progressing apace simultaneously in three different presses, it was, not possible to give continuous pagination for all the volumes. It was however possible to do so in the case of Volumes II and III, as they were printed in the same press. I myself am not quite satisfied with the quality of printing ; two of the presses entrusted with the work were quite new to such work. But if the managers of these presses had not agreed to undertake the printing work at my pressing request, the publication of the proceedings could not have been finished even in four years' time.

Benares Hindu University
15-4-1948.

A. S. ALTEKAR.

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ARCHAEOLOGY SECTION.

A NEWLY DISCOVERED STONE INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA'S REIGN.

By

DR. B.CH. CHHABRA, OOTACAMUND.

Speaking of epigraphy in India, a generation or two ago, the epigraphist must have been overwhelmed with the multitude of early inscriptions, each demanding his immediate attention through its unique importance. The bureau of a Fleet or a Bhagwanlal Indraji must have been littered with all sorts of squeezes and rubbings of such records, pouring in from various quarters. Those were the days of the pioneers in the field of Indian epigraphy. Those scholars, it is true, had a great share of difficulties that usually befall a pioneer, but at the same time they had the great good fortune in having at their disposal an abundance of material to work upon. Those days are gone. The conditions have changed. The discovery of an ancient document is no longer a daily occurrence. The sources are drying up, as it were. Not that we do not find any new inscriptions nowadays. We do find them and find them in their hundreds, especially in South India, but a great majority of them are comparatively of a late date. Discoveries of epigraphs of a remote past are at present few and far between. And for this reason they are all the more welcome. The rareness lends a charm of its own.

The stone inscription, the discovery of which is being announced here, is a welcome addition to the already known records of the early Gupta period. It is not a long *prasaṣti* or the like, but what little information it imparts adds considerably to our knowledge of India's past.

The stone is a *satī* pillar in its present condition, as is clear from the photograph, showing the sculptures and traces of a brief inscription below. This inscription is much damaged and is obviously of a late date. The inscription with which we are concerned here, and for which the pillar was originally set up, occurs on what may now be termed the reverse side of the pillar. It is reported to have been discovered from under a tree at a village called Supia within the Rewa State.

The inscription runs into seventeen short lines. It is dated the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyeshtha in the year 141, and refers itself to the reign of the Gupta monarch Skandagupta. It may be recalled that the Kahāuin pillar inscription of the time of Skandagupta bears the same date, except that the exact *tithi* is not specified there. In point of date, thus, our inscription does not add much to our knowledge. Its chief interest, however, lies in the other details which we may consider now.

The record begins with the genealogy of the reigning monarch. The family is referred to in the very first lines as *śri-Ghaṭōtkacha-tad-vanśa(vamśa)*, and not as *Gupta-vamśa*, *Gupta-ānvaya* or the like. Now, this is a noteworthy point, for in no other known Gupta record the dynasty is so mentioned. The present is perhaps the first known record wherein so much prominence is given to Ghaṭōtkacha. The genealogy starts with Mahārāja Samudragupta ; then comes his son Vikramāditya, then the latter's son Mahārāja Mahendrāditya and finally the latter's son Maharāja Skandagupta. Here is another point of interest : Chandragupta II and his son Kumārāgupta I are mentioned in our inscription by their surnames only, Vikramāditya and Mahendrāditya respectively. Hitherto these surnames of theirs were known only from their coins. It may further be observed that it is only in connection with Skandagupta that the author has used some laudatory expressions. In the case of the other emperors, only the title *Mahārāja* is prefixed to their names. And even this is missing before the names of Ghaṭōtkacha and Vikramāditya. These omissions are pardonable in the present instance, because the inscription is not an official document, but is one of a private individual whose only anxiety naturally was to see that due homage was paid to the contemporary emperor whose subject he was.

More than half of the inscription has been taken up by these details about the royal family and the date. We now come to the subject proper wherein lies the main interest of the record. As already stated in the summary of this paper the object of the inscription is to record the consecration of an image of the goddess Shashthī by one Chhandaka, son of the banker Hari and grandson of the banker Kaivarta, a resident of Avadara .

Sculptural representations of Shashthī are very rare. In fact, this goddess is little known. She is a consort of Skanda or Kārttikeya, who is supposed to have two wives, Vallī and Dēvasēnā. This last is another name of Shashthī herself. In

South-Indian temples one finds images of Skanda, more popularly known there as Subrahmanya, accompanied by his two wives. But an image of Shashthī alone is unknown. From the wording of our inscription it appears that the image of Shashthī set up by Chhandaka was independent and not accompanied by her spouse. Further, one would expect that the very stone pillar which bears the inscription should also contain the image referred to therein, but that is not the case.

The worship of Shashthī is common even to this day in many parts of India, especially in Mahārāshtra and South India. In Mahārāshtra it is known as *Shatavi* which is nothing but a corrupt form of *Shashthī*. She is usually worshipped on the 6th day after the birth of a child. We find references to her in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* in connection with the birth of Chandrapīḍa, and in the *Mahābhārata* where her marriage to Skanda is also described.

Recently Dr. V.S. Agrawala has, in an article in the *Journal of Numismatic Society of India* (Vol. V., part I, June 1943, pp. 29-32), drawn attention to a type of Yaudhéya coins which have the six-headed god Skanda on the obverse and his consort, the six-headed goddess Shashthī, on the reverse. For further details about this goddess, the said article of Dr. Agrawala may be consulted.

I must point out that the details of the inscription given here are based on my tentative reading of the text. I am still working on it and have to fill up some gaps by reference to the original.

Finally, I must express my feelings of gratitude to the Rewa Darbar for their kindly permitting me to read this paper here. I am also indebted to Maulvi Ayaz Ali Khan, Superintendent of Archaeology in Rewa, for his kindly supplying me with impressions and photographs of the inscribed pillar. My thanks are also due to my friend and colleague, Mr. Amalananda Ghosh, who checked my tentative transcript of the inscription and offered some very valuable suggestions.

BENARES PLATES OF HARI-RĀJA OF ŚŪRA DYNASTY

By

PROF. AHI BHUSHAN BHATTACHARYA, M.A.

In the course of the construction of a municipal road in the Bhelupura locality of Benares, a set of three inscribed copper plates was unearthed and the find was brought to the notice of the present writer in April 1944.

The plates containing the inscription were discovered inside a well by the side of the newly constructed road running from Bhelupura to Oudh Gharbi through Kirim Kund Mohalla. The plates were cleansed and the inscription deciphered by me was published in an issue of the Bengali monthly "Bhārata Varsha" of Calcutta. The plates have now been acquired for the Provincial Museum Lucknow by Dr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A. Ph.D. and are preserved there.

The plates, of which the first and last are engraved on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about $6\frac{3}{8}$ " by $2\frac{5}{8}$ ". Their edges are not fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. They are fairly thick and substantial and the letters though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse side at all, and are in a perfect state of preservation. The engraving is good, though the interior of a few letters show marks of the scribe's tool. Towards the top of each plate about the centre there is a hole for a ring to connect them. Ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and $3\frac{5}{8}$ " in diameter. The ends of the ring were flattened soldered and joined together. On the flattened portion there is no legend as usually found on seals, but the drawing of a pitcher with mango sprouts on its mouth with a flagstaff beside, ostensibly a विजय कलश, an emblem of victory. The weight of the three plates together is 1 lb 3 oz. and of the ring $1\frac{1}{4}$ oz. the total being 1 lb $4\frac{1}{4}$ oz. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}$ ".

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and represent a specimen of the box headed variety peculiar to Central India and C.P. There are no numerical Symbols in the plates. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is in prose throughout except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 19 to 23. In respect of orthography, we have to notice—

- (1) the use of upadhmāniya in भूमेः पञ्चाशदेका in line 13, and हन्तुः प्राप्नोति in line 21 ;
- (2) the use of इ instead of the anusvāra before Śa in वडश in lines 2 and 17-18 and गवाडशित in line 21 ;
- (3) the use of म् instead of अनुस्वार in दत्ताम्बा in line 21 ;

- (4) the occasional doubling of क, त, ग, न, म. व in conjunction with a following *ra* ;
- (5) there are instances of archaism as in स्वस्तिरस्तु a form which is not sanctioned by grammar, but is found in the *Rgveda*. In this connection it might be noted that हरेत and मोदति in the often-quoted imprecatory verse are also ungrammatical in form. हरिशज्ञा also transgresses the rule of Pāṇini.
- (6) There are Prakritisms as in प्रकृतिकां instead of प्रकृतिकां in line 10, and कृताभ्यनुज्ञो instead of कृताभ्यनुज्ञो in line 5.¹

The inscription is non-sectarian and the object of it is to record the grant of a portion of land in आम्रकनगर belonging to the principal Queen of Harirāja, Ananta Mahādevī by name to a Brāhmaṇa Somasvamin of Kaundinya Gotra.

King Harirāja is credited with qualities and prowess equal to that of हरि i.e. Viṣṇu and is referred to the Śūra dynasty. His genealogy supplied by the inscription is as given below :

श्रीम(को)मग्रहराज
|
निष्ठुरराज
|
हरिराज = अनन्तमहादेवी

There is nothing to indicate the era or date to which the inscription might be referred. On palaeographical grounds we might well assign it to the 5th or 6th century A. D. Incidentally it furnishes us with the earliest Gupta period inscription discovered at Benares or Sarnath.

The charter is issued from Camp Śāntanapura, but topographical details about the locality which might be roughly identified with the two places named in the inscription. viz. शान्तनपुर and आम्रकनगर are not available. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the Retired Director General of Archaeology, has suggested to me in a kind letter that Śāntanapura, where from the grant was issued may be identified with Sutna, an important railway Station where roads from Nagod, Rewa and other important places meet. He further opines that the Śūra dynasty should be slightly later than the Parivrajakas, who ruled in that region in the 5th century

¹ The word सन्तकीय in line 12 is really a Prakrit word. It is found in the inscriptions of the Vākātaka King Pravara Sena II (Fleet. Nos. 55-56) and also in the दिव्यावदान and in the Jātakas. Ross and Botheling derive it from the root अस् indicating possession.

A.D. This inscription, therefore, is the first epigraphic record of a Śūra dynasty ruling in India. Apparently, however, this Śūra dynasty has no connection with Adisura of traditional eminence in Bengal and does not establish or corroborate the Adi-sura myth.

It seems plausible to me that the scribe might have inscribed श्रीमकोमग्रहराज.....in place of श्रीमतो मग्रहराज.....In that case the name of the grand father of the king हरिराज would be मग्रहराज, a name not uncommon in the Gupta Age. In khoh copper Plate of Maharaja Hastim (Fleet—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Volume III. Nos 21 and 22), we find the name मग्रह as the दूतक. Bnagraharāja seems to have been the founder of the Śūra dynasty, but his grand son is credited with the victory in many hundred battles. It is not improbable that the territories of the king extended far towards the north and reached the outskirts of Benares and the extent of the kingdom justified the appointment of Viceroys in distant विषयस. आम्बकनगर, which is a Prakritism for आम्रकनगर, mentioned as within the boundaries of the queen's land might have been an appanage to the dominions of हरिराज by his marriage with a lady of befitting lineage युक्तान्वयवती. The place was perhaps specially rich in mango fruit, thus lending its name to the city, and the reference to वणिजः of this city indicates that there were traders who dealt in mango and were an important element of the population. The vicinity of Benares where the inscription is discovered has been famous since early time for the best Langra mango fruit in India. We hear of mango groves in Sarnath even in the Jataka legends. It might well be the probable site of the ancient आम्बकनगर. Nevertheless it is quite likely that the fortunate Brāhmaṇa, who was the recipient of the grant, had subsequently gone on a pilgrimage to the holy city of Benares, where as luck would have it, he breathed his last leaving behind this precious document, his family heir loom which he had thought it expedient to carry with him for safety during his sojourn.

One point of importance in the inscription is that the charter is issued not by the king or queen but by the गण of महामात्रस which seems to have been vested with the authority in certain executive functions. The गण of these महामात्रस was something like a modern cabinet presided over by the स्वविर or Grand Old Man. Members of the गण are individually named in the inscription purposely, but the singular use of अस्माभिः महामात्रगणेन indicates their collective responsibility. The name महामात्र occurs in Aśoka's edicts where it signifies a high officer of State. धर्म महामात्रस of Aśoka's edicts like the Mohtasibs of the Moghal Emperors were officers of Imperial service and

1

2

4

they were the guardians of the moral standard of the people. (The term might be a corrupt form of महामात्य).

It is noteworthy that the queen was of befitting descent, probably the daughter of some powerful northern king who like the *Licchaviduhitā* consorts of Bimbisāra of Saisunāga dynasty and Chandra-Gupta I of the Guptas had probably added not only to be the splendour and dignity but also to the territory of her husband thus extending it to the border of Benares.

The inscription has no reference to year or dates except the word महाकात्तिक in line 15. which might correspond like the महावैशाख, महाचैत्र, महाअश्वयुज etc. to a year of the Gupta Era.

The amount of land given to the Brahmin is described as महामानेन भूमेः पञ्चाशदेका.....in line 13 after which there is some blank space left at the end of the line. It is not clear whether some more words were originally intended to be written after it. In the absence of any further data it cannot be ascertained whether the term एका was ever a unit in land measurement. महामान might have been a larger rod of measurement than what was ordinarily used like the 'बड़ा तोल' of grocers. The text of the inscription is given below ; Pl. I gives the facsimile of all the three plates.

Plate I ; second side.

- line 1 स्वस्ति शान्तपुरादनेकसमरशतविजयिहार-
 „ 2 वडशललामभूतस्य श्रीमकोभग्रहराजनपुत्रिष्ठुर-
 „ 3 राजसूनीर्हरितुल्यगुणविक्रमधामनाम्नो हरिरा-
 „ 4 जस्य युक्तान्वयवत्या प्रधानमहिष्या अनन्तमहादे-
 „ 5 व्या हरिराज्ञा च क्रिताभ्यनुज्ञो गणस्यविरक-
 „ 6 गोत्र गोविन्दनारायणमातृवत्सगणवत्स नाग-

Plate II ; first side.

- „ 7 कुमारदामुकस्कन्दकोकटिक शशाङ्कविष्णुदे-
 „ 8 वप्रभाकरादिर्महामात्रगणः सर्वनाम्त्रक-
 „ 9 नगरवास्तव्यान्सवालवृद्धपरिजनपुरस्सरान् स-
 „ 10 प्रक्रितिकाम्बणिजस्तदन्तिकग्रामसन्निवासिनश्च संपू-
 „ 11 ज्य इममर्थमावेदयति विदितमस्तु भवतां यथास्मा-
 „ 12 भिर्महामात्रगणेन अनन्तमहादेवीसन्तकीय एवाम्त्रक-

Plate II ; second side.

- „ 13 नगरे भूमेः पञ्चाशदेका.....
 „ 14 कौण्डिन्य सगोत्रेभ्यस्सम्यगुपनिषत्सिद्धान्तविद्भ्यस्सोमस्वा-
 „ 15 मिभ्यः महाकात्तिकपौर्णमास्यां उदकपूर्वं प्रतिपादिता अत ए-
 „ 16 तेषामाचन्द्राकर्णवक्षितिसमकालमेतामनुभृञ्जतां शरव-
 „ 17 ङ्ग प्रभवेन वा अन्येन वा विषयपतिना न केचि-
 „ 18 दप्यन्तराय उत्पाद्य इति ग्राह्यश्च धर्म-

Plate III ; first side

- „ 19 शास्त्रकाराः षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः

- line 20 आच्छेत्ता चानुभन्ता च ताव्येव नरके वसे (त्)
 „ 21 स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां गवाङ्गशनसह-
 „ 22 स्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं इति गोघ्नः पितृघ्नो ब्रह्म
 „ 23 हा स्तेयी सुरापो गुह्यतल्पगः भवन्ति तस्य एतान च
 „ 24 एतानुद्धरिष्यति* स्वस्तिरस्तु महामात्रगणस्य ॥ दृष्टं ॥

Translation

Line 1. Hail ! From camp *Śāntanapura* by the order of *Ananta Mahādevī* the principal queen of befitting descent of *Harirāja* and also by the order of *Harirāja* who is equal to *Hari* in quality and prowess, son of *Nisthurarāja*, grandson of the illustrious *Bhagraharāja*, Victor of many hundred battles, ornament of the *Śūra* dynasty—

Line 6—the head of the Gana, Gonna, Govinda, Nārāyana, Mātṛivatsa, Gaṇavatsa, Nāgakumāra, Dāmuka, Skanda, Kokkatika, Śaśānka, Visnudeva, Prabhākara and others of the constitution of the *Mahāmātrās* after worshipping all the residents of *Āmbraka Nagara* beginning with the children, aged and attendants, the merchants together with their women and also the inhabitants of the villages in the neighbourhood notifies this matter—line 11—Be it known to you that by us, the Gaṇas of *Mahāmatras*, a piece of 50 *Ekā* of land measured by the *Mahāmānā* in the *Ambrakanagara* within the estate of *Ananta-Mahādevī*, is given with libations of water to *Somasvāmin* of *Kauṇḍinya Gotra*, well-versed in the doctrines of the *Upaniṣads*, on the full moonday of *Mahākārttika* (year) to be enjoyed for the same time with the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth.

Line 16. And therefore, no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant) is to be created by anybody who is born in the *Śūra* line or by any governor of a Province.

Line 18. And it has been said by the authors of *Dharma Śāstras*—the giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years, (but) the confiscator (of a grant) and he who assents to (an act of such confiscation) shall dwell for the same number of years in hell ! He who confiscates land either given by himself or by another, incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows. He incurs the guilt of the slayer of cow, slayer of father, slayer of Brahmin, thief, drunkard and the usurper of the bed of the preceptor. Be it well to the Gaṇa of the *Mahāmātrās*. Examined.

* The last imprecatory verse is a new one which has not been found in any other inscription. The metre also is not correctly followed in it, in as much as the first पाद has 10 letters instead of 8. The correct reading might have been गोघ्नः पितृघ्नो ब्रह्मघ्नः सुरापो गुह्यतल्पगः ।

A NEW COPPER CHARTER OF MAHĀSIVAGUPTA BĀLĀRJUNA, DATED 57th YEAR.

By

PANDIT L.P. PANDEYA, BALPUR, C.P.

It is only since 1935 that documents issued by Mahāśivagupta have begun to be discovered. Prior to that date the Lakshman temple inscription was known (*E.I.*, XI, 190 ff), but it recorded the erection of a temple by his mother Vāsatā. It was also not dated. The Sirpur inscription (*Int. And.* XVII, pp179 ff) refers to his reign but is not an official document. Two copper plate charters of Mahāśiva Tivaradeva, a grand-uncle of Bālārjuna were known. But unlike the above records written in Kuṭila characters they were inscribed in box-headed characters and consequently there was a good deal of doubt as to the time of Bālārjuna.

The first document of Bālārjuna to be discovered was his Mallar plates, edited by me in *E.I.*, XXIII, No. 18. They are not dated; but they were using box-headed characters and it thus became clear that in southern Mahākośala two scripts, the Kutila and the Box-headed, were simultaneously in use.

A further advance in our knowledge of the history of Mahākośala is recorded by the recent discovery of the Lodhia plates, which are being published in this paper. Their importance lies in their being the *first dated record* of Bālārjuna. Unfortunately the date is given not in any known era, but in the regnal years of the king; it is his 57th regnal year.

It is interesting to note that none of the charters of king Bālārjuna describe him as the lord of the three Kalingas, *Trikalingādhipati*. It is therefore clear that down to his 57th year of reign, the kingdom of Trikalīṅga was not conquered by him. The charters of Tivaradeva, the grand-uncle of Bālārjuna, it is worth noting, call him *Sakala-kosalādhipa*, the lord of the entire Kośala, and not of the three Kalingas. Probably the province of Trikalīṅga was conquered by the son or some other successor of Bālārjuna. The title *Trikalingādhipati* is first claimed by Mahābhavagupta and later retained by his successors. The relationship of this ruler with Bālārjuna¹ is not however known.

¹No coins issued by the rulers of this dynasty have so far come to light. We therefore do not know what script might have been used on them, the Kutila or the Box-headed.

I would draw here the attention of scholars to a peculiar epithet used to describe the preceptor Pramathāchārya, at the request of whose disciple the grant was made. He is called विनिर्गतञ्चपलगोचरभगवद्धो—

There seems to be a mistake in engraving this expression; it was probably intended to be विनिर्गतचपलगोचरभगवद्धो— *Chapalagocharin* may be *Chapalagochara* meaning one who has no fixed abode, a wandering monk. It is likely that the monk of the Śaiva sect to whom this personage belonged had no fixed abode.

With these introductory remarks I quote the relevant portion of the text of the Lodhia plates which mention the word गोचरिन् along with the names द्वैतवन and पञ्चयज्ञतपोवन within it.

Text

ॐ स्वस्त्यशेषक्षितीशविद्याभ्यासविशेषासादितमहनीय—नयविनयसम्पत्सम्पादितसकल-
विजिगीषुगुणो गुणवत्समाश्रयः प्रकृष्टतरशौर्यप्रज्ञाप्रभावसम्भावितमहाभ्युदयः कार्तिकेय इव
कृतिवाससो राज्ञः श्रीहर्षदेवस्य सुतः सोमवङ्कशसम्भवः परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातः
श्रीमहाशिवगुप्तराजदेवः कुशली । ओणिभोगीयग्रामवैद्यपदके ब्राह्मणान्सम्पूज्य तत्प्रतिनिवासि-
कुटुम्बिनो यथाकालाध्यासिनः समाहर्तृसन्निधात-प्रभृतीन्सम्पादोपजीविनः सर्व्वराजपुरुषान्स-
माज्ञापयति । विदितमस्तु भवतां यथा ग्रामोयमस्माभिः सम्प्रतिसन्निधानः सर्व्वकरादानसमेतः
सर्व्वपीडां विवर्जितः सदशापराधः प्रतिषिद्धचाटभटप्रवेशः अस्यां कार्तिकपौर्णमास्यां पत्तन-
खदिरपद्मल-प्रतिष्ठितश्रीमदीशानेश्वर-भट्टारकाय । बलिचरुनिवेद्य सन्नृत्तवादित्रखण्डस्फु-
टितसंस्कारार्थं द्वैतवनीय श्रीमत्पञ्चयज्ञतपोवन-विनिर्गतञ्चपलगोचरिणः- भगवद्धोप्रम-
थाचार्य-शिष्य श्रीशूलपाणिभगवत्पादप्रार्थनया मानापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये समकालोप-
भोगार्थमाचन्द्रतारकावर्कं पयः पूर्व्वकं ताम्रशासनेन प्रतिपादितो यतोवगत्य समुचित भोग-
भागादिकमुपनयन्तो भवन्तः सुखं प्रतिवसन्तु । भाविनश्च भूमिपालानुद्दिश्येदमभिधीयते ।

भूमिप्रदा दिवि ललन्ति पतन्ति हन्त हृत्वा महीं नृपतयो नरके नृशंसाः

एतद्वयं परिकलय्यचलाञ्चलक्ष्मीमायुस्तथा कुरुत् यद्भवतामभिष्टम् ॥

Here follow seven श्लोकाः Then comes the date as follows:—

प्रवर्द्धमान विजयराज्य सम्बत्सरे सप्तपञ्चाशत्तमे कार्तिक पौर्णमास्या अंकेन
सम्बत् ५७ कार्तिक दिन ३० । see Pl, II A,

राज्ञः श्रीहर्षगुप्तस्य सुतोः सद्गुणशालिनः ।

शासनं शिवगुप्तस्य स्थितमाभुवनास्थितेः ॥

These two lines form the 'legend' on the seal—the device being the trident bull and "*Kamandaku*" as in case of the Mallar plates referred to above.

Plate No. II



A
A New Statue of an Indo Scythian
King from Mathurā



B
Date portion of
Bālīrjuna's plate

NEW STATUE OF AN INDO-SCYTHIAN KING FROM MATHURA.

By

MR. M.M. NĀGAR, CURATOR, CURZON MUSEUM, MATHURA.

The discovery of the images of the Emperors Wima Kadphesis and Kanishka and of the Mahākshatrapa Chastana from the village of Mat, situated about 9 miles to North of the city of Mathurā, is well known.¹ Here I propose to announce the discovery of a new statue of an Indo-Scythian king, which I had the good fortune of acquiring recently for the Curzon Museum of Archaeology Muttra, wherein it is now deposited. It was obtained from an ancient mound, locally known as Gokarṇeśvara *tilā* after the name of the deity enshrined in the modern temple standing on it. It is made of the speckled sandstone of Sikri quarry and may be thus described:—

Life-size statue (ht. 3'-7") of an Indo-Scythian king standing *enface*. The head, both arms and legs are lost. The figure is clad in a tunic reaching down to a little above the knees and held round the loins by means of a beautiful belt consisting of a row of plaques some square and the others round, each decorated with lotus rosette. The garment is plain only the seam being shown. The folds of the robe at the waist are indicated by very shallow lines which, according to Dr. Vogel, is a reminiscence of Hellenistic influence.² Round the neck is to be noticed a torque. Below the garment remains a portion of the right leg from which it appears that the figure wore top-boots as in the statues of Kanishka and Chastana. (See Pl. II B) The back of the image is shown plain and flat, suggesting thereby that it was meant to be seen only from the front. Unfortunately like other royal statues the image under review does not bear any epigraph so as to enable us to know precisely whom it portrays ; still the style of dress evinces its royal character and nationality and makes it a valuable addition to our art collection.

The Gokarṇeśvara mound is one of the oldest mounds in the city of Mathura and has produced in the past a number

¹ A. S. R. 1911-12. pp. 120- 125. Also *JPSH.*, Vol. II (1912), pp. 32,

² *Op. cit.* 1911-12. p. 122.

of notable antiquities of various periods of Indian History.¹ Of these by far the most remarkable is the portrait sculpture of a Kushāna Emperor which Rai Bahadurs Sahni and Radha Krishna discovered in 1920 and which the former noticed in the *Annual Progress Report of the Northern Circle, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments*, Lahore, for the year ending 1921² This statue is 6 ft. high and represents a king seated on a throne in Indian style. The dress consists of a loose open coat, trousers, padded-boots and a high conical cap—all worn even to this day in Turkistan.³ The sculpture is in perfect preservation including the head which is generally found missing in other royal statues of the Scythian kings. This and the recent finds from the Gokarṇeśwara mound, comprising not only the new statue of the Indo-Scythian king discussed above but also several relics of the Śunga, Kushāna and Gupta periods, testify to its being a very rich and promising site and invite immediate attention of archaeologists to work their spade here and dispel the darkness shrouding the knotty points of the history of the Indo-Scythian Age.

¹ Muttra Museum antiquities Nos, 1210, 1319, 1515 etc. Also two Kushana Buddha statuettes which are at present in worship in the modern temple there.

² P. 27. Pl. XI. Also *A. S. R.* 1920-21. p. 23. Pl. XVIII (a).

³ *A. S. R.* 1911-12. p. 124.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN BRAHMAPURI- EXCAVATIONS, KOLHAPUR

By

PROF. K.G. KUNDANGAR, RAJARAM COLLEGE KOLAHAPUR.

Ptolemy in his geography mentions Hippokura as the capital of Vilivāyakurar, which name appears on the lead and copper coins found in a hoard at Brahmapuri (Kolhapur) in 1877. In their learned articles on these the scholars have identified Hippokura with Karavira of the Purāṇas and Kolhapur of the present day. But recently Mr. M. Govinda Pai in his paper read before the Kannaḍa Research Institute, Dharwar, has recorded his difference of opinion and has identified it with Hipparige a village in Bijapur District. Apart from that the facts that ancient coins and Buddhist relics found at Kolhapur and nearabout supply some historical information and prove the antiquity of the place.

The Brahmapuri site is an extensive part of Kolhapur covering an area of about 20 acres from the Paṇcagaṅgā to Khola-Khaṇḍoba temple in the heart of the city. Unfortunately major part of this site is now occupied by private houses. It is still more unfortunate that the mound on the river bank has been sometime back divided into plots and these have been given away to private persons for building purposes.

A heavy and large cylindrical earthen pot 20"X11" and a hollow earthen image were found in digging on the site given to the Jamdar Club. The pot was sent to the Archaeological Department. But the hollow image was sent to the bottom of the river as it was broken and therefore was considered inauspicious. These finds proved a sufficient stimulus for the Department to make a modest provision for excavation purposes.

The operations of excavation were undertaken in September 1942. For this purpose a site 51'X22' on the mound by the roadside on the river bank was selected. Going deep to 16' there were discovered ruins of five strata one over the other. Each of these was separated by a thin layer of black-soil covered with pebbles round stones and earth balls. The bottom stratum supplied pieces of painted pottery of Mauryan type, beads of

glass and conch shells. The ruins of the second and the third layers are hardly three feet in height. In a trial pit both these layers were found to contain brick powder only, and therefore nothing of historical or archaeological interest was obtainable. The fifth one does not show any foundation but appears to have been built over the flat debris of the fourth. This stratum the top-most one supplied no finds of interest but a small unfinished stone image of a goddess with ornaments commonly carved in the sculptures of the 11th and 12th centuries.

Going to the depth of four feet a kitchen 21' 5" X 6" was brought to light. Its walls 4' high are in a crumbling state. They are built of burnt single bricks of 9" to 18" X 6" X 3". They are red and brittle explaining the huge quantity of brick powder in the two lower strata. No doubt they are well made but the material of which they are made has not given them that strength durability of those found at Mohenjodaro. The wall on the south has a door-way 3' in width. The whole space of the kitchen was filled with brickbats and pieces of heavy tiles which by their weight had crushed down all the pottery in the room. Charred paddy and rye were found in some of the broken pots. The valuable finds in this room are classified and described below.

1. *Stoneware* : (a) Mortars with legs and pestles are the heaviest articles. The pestles are cylindrical from 3" X 4" to 4" X 6" in dimensions.
- (b) *Wheat-stones* : These are of black and white stones, and were used it appears to sharpen flat and round weapons marks of which have been left on them.
- (c) *Coin-moulds* : Moulds with canals for the molten metal to flow from one to the other arranged in parallels are cut in flat polished black stones.
2. *Pottery* : (a) Pieces of very large jars and vases are quite common. Some of these contain burnt and charred paddy and rye.
- (b) Earthen pinnacles with and without holes.
- (c) Bowls : Shallow and deep ones of different sizes ranging from 3" to 6" in diameter and from 1" to 4" in depth.
- (d) Ornamented vases and kettles : These are all broken to pieces.

- (e) Oil lamps : Small lamps with a tongue for the wick and with stout flat stands.
 - (f) Beads : Earthen burnt beads of different sizes with holes for the thread to pass through.
 - (g) Flat rectangular tiles with ridges at one end and with round holes and also large bent ones for angles on the roofs.
3. *Ornaments* : (a) Beads of different shape and size to be worn on the neck and bangles cut out of conch shells.
- (b) Stone beads and decayed pearls.
 - (c) Ear-ring pendants of coloured stones.
 - (d) Glass beads, tube shaped with lines.
 - (e) A burnt earthen locket round in shape and ornamented with a scroll inside has a hook on the edge to pass thread through.
 - (f) Collirium pencils of stone 2" long.
4. *Shells* : Remnant conch-shells after ornaments and bangles were cut out of them.
5. Bones of elephants, cows, cats and other animals.
6. Charcoal of burnt wood and burnt paddy and rye.
7. A lump of yellow earth probably used for painting walls.
8. *Coins* : (a) Silver punch marked coins.
- (b) Lead coins with Nāga symbols.
 - (c) Much rusted copper coins.
 - (d) An earthen seal reading Amācaputtasa Cūlasa.
9. *Toys* : Small earthen vessels small earthen and stone balls and burnt earthen disks are very common. A miniature figure of a cow-head is also obtained.

Charcoal, burnt paddy and rye point to the probable fact that houses were burnt and destroyed.

These finds are similar to those to be obtained at Old Belgaum (Mādhavapura) about a mile and a half to the south of Belgaum. These two ruins point out one and the same culture, and are therefore of great value to the Archæologist.

CRUCIFORM INDO-ĀRYAN ŚIKHARA TEMPLES AT DUDHAI, DISTRICT JHANSI, AND SIMILAR SHRINES ELSEWHERE IN INDIA.

By

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The transept or *mandapa* attached to a temple, being fairly large, generally projected on either side of the *Vimāns* or sanctum. Sometime, the side approaches were made more elaborate and pronounced, such as those in the medieval temples at Ambernath, Gondesvara temple at Sinnar, Siddheśvara temple at Akola and Lakshmi-nārāyaṇa temple at Pedgaon in the Deccan, or Rahilya and Kakramarh temples near Mahoba in Bundelkhand. To put this briefly, the above type of temples consisted of one shrine preceded by a hall with porches on three sides linked to each other by a vestibule (*antārāla*) the effect of which was to make the structure as a whole cruciform in plan. By a slight adaptation, however, this feature was easily converted into three shrines round the central hall with a porch in front, but the side shrines were not always of the same size as the central one. Such were the coeval triple shrines at Balsane, Jhodga¹, the Jagesvara temple at Devalana² and the Bhavani temple at Tahakari in the Deccan dedicated to different deities. Without the porch, this feature is also found in the Ramesvara temple at Pedgaon. Again, triple cruciform shrines grouped round a central hall or *mandapa*, were built to the Brahmanical triad also, that is to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, such as the Lesser *Surang* at Dudhai, the Makarbai and Sijari temples near Mahoba, the temple at Kasara³, 14 miles west-north-west of Patan in the Baroda state and elsewhere.

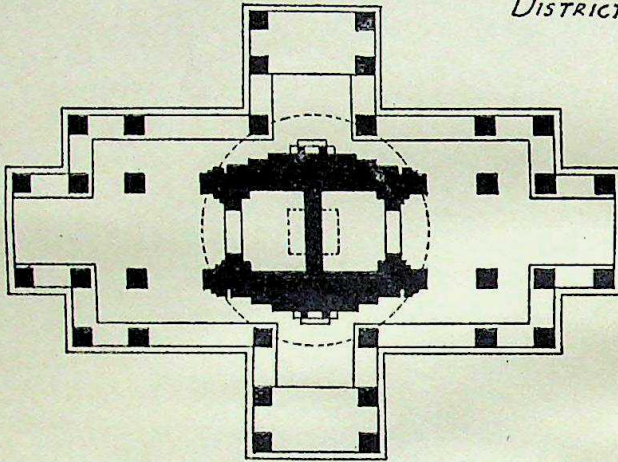
To turn to Dudhai. We have here two imposing and also picturesquely situated temples, locally known, on account of their tall spires, as the *Chhoti* and *Bari Surangs* or the "*Sarahi Marhiya*". They stand facing each other on an eminence outside the village on the west bank of the Ramsagar lake and

¹ & ² It is possible that in these temples the side shrines were later additions. Cf. Henry Cousens, *Mediaeval Temples of the Deccan*, pp. 41-42 and 47.

³ Jas. Burgess & Henry Cousens, *Architectural antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, pp. 105-06.

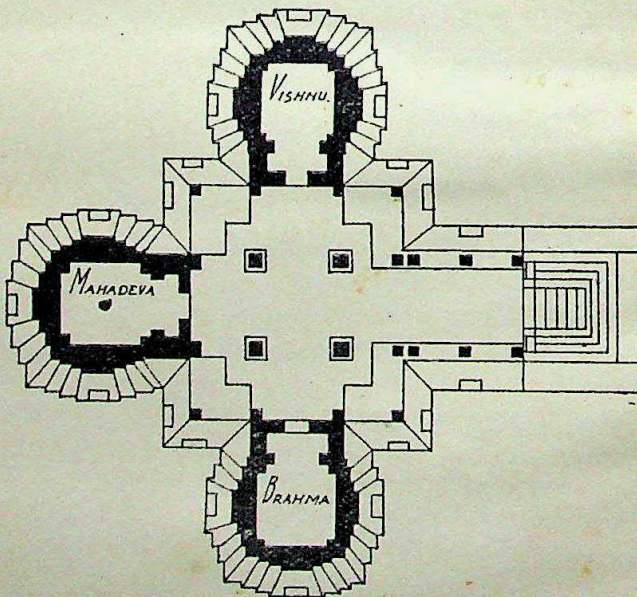
(a) PLAN OF BARI SURANG

DUDHAI,
DISTRICT JHANSI.



10 5 0 10 20 30
SCALE OF FEET.

(b) PLAN OF CHHOTI SURANG.



SKETCH PLAN.
Scale Approximately
12" = 1'

Cruciform Indo-Aryan Śikhara Temples

have been described by Cunningham¹ and Mukerji², who published in 1899 a plan of the *Chhoti Surang*, as well as by Hargreaves³

Lesser Surang. (Pl. III B)

The Lesser *Surang* is a temple of Hindu Trinity⁴ with the shrines of Brahmā, Mahādeva and Viṣṇu respectively on the south, west and north sides, and opening into the common square *mandapa* to which access was gained from a porch on the east side. From the central position of the western shrine opposite the porch and also facing the Ramasagar lake it is obvious that in this case the principal deity was Mahādeva. The shrine of Viṣṇu has completely disappeared and so also has the *Sikhara* of the Mahādeva temple, and nothing more than the core is left of the *Sikhara* of the Brahmā shrine which continues to stand, from the time of General Cunningham, in a precarious condition. Its plan published by Cunningham is inexplicably wrong. The sketch plan given in Plate III b is taken from Mukherji's report mentioned above. A proper plan cannot be made till the *debris* of this ruined shrine, which consists of very heavy stones, can be shifted. It is, however, one of the most ornate temples of the Chandella period. Six short inscriptions on the pillars of the *mandapa* speak of its construction by Devalabdhī, son of Kṛṣṇa and Āsarvā, and the grandson of Yaśovarmma Chandella. The date of this temple, which is presumably contemporaneous with the Larger *Surang*, is the beginning of the 11th century A.D.

The *mandapa* of this temple is magnificent and the pillars and ceilings exquisitely carved. Equally ornate are the lintels over the entrances to the three shrines taking off from it. The ceiling with tiered repetitions of the *nandipada* pattern makes for a grand effect.

The lintel over the entrance to the Brahmā shrine shows the god seated in the centre over his *vāhana*, the goose, the rest of it being occupied by the *navagraha* frieze. While the Viṣṇu shrine has completely disappeared and the lintel over its entrance is lying inextricably mixed up with the *debris*, that over the

¹ A. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. X, pp. 92-93, Plate XXXI.

² P. C. Mukerji, *Report on the antiquities in the district of Lalitpur*, p. 14, pls. 36-38.

³ H. Hargreaves, *Inspection and Conservation notes of 1917 on Ancient monuments in the Jhansi district*, pp. 9-12

⁴ A. Cunningham, *Op. cit.*, Vol. X, Pl. XXXI.

temple of Mahādeva depicts the *tāṇḍava* dance. Since the shrines of Mahādeva and Brahṃā are clearly identifiable, the third shrine was presumably dedicated to Viṣṇu.

Larger Surang. (Pl. III A)

The Larger *Surang* is of an unusually peculiar cruciform plan with the shorter and longer limbs bisecting each other. Its extreme dimensions are 52 ft. long from east to west by 37 ft. broad from north to south, with a height somewhat greater than the length. It consists of two shrines in the centre, placed back to back, with a stone screen between them (Plate III A.). Each shrine opens into a pillared hall in front and is connected with the other by a narrow passage running all round which, in fact, was the circumambulatory passage (*pradakṣhiṇā-patha*). In front of each hall is a large pillared porch and a smaller one in the middle of the side passages (see Pl. III a). The building is, therefore, perfectly symmetrical, the two longer ends to the east and west forming the double shrine and the two side projectios being equidistant from the centre. By this arrangement, the *Sikhara* rose exactly in the middle instead of coming at one end. Cunningham has pointed out that "the joint length of the two shrines is 19 ft. and the breadth of the main body of the building, including the two side passages and their outer walls, is also 19 feet, so that the spire rises from a central square of 15 feet". This, however, is incorrect as the *sikhara* is rectangular and not a square pyramid.

Mr. Hargreaves has already pointed out the Brahmanical nature of this double shrine, which Cunningham, too, had hinted at only to give it up.¹ He has also corrected the latter's mistake in indicating a doorway between the two shrines which, in fact, was only a stone curtain to allow of the image pedestals being set back to back. There is still *in situ* the original pedestal of an image installed in the western shrine, while a fragment of another similar pedestal, though not *in situ*, is also lying partially buried in the eastern shrine. Regarding the probable dedication of these shrines it may be of interest to point out that the small *Linga* shrine to the south of the *Chhoti Surang* as well as the Śiva temple which formed the western adjunct of the *Chhoti Surang* face the east side. The main shrine facing the porch in front of the *Chhoti Surang*, as already pointed out by Mukherji and Hargreaves, is dedicated to Śiva. Thus it would be reasonable to expect that the double shrine in the Larger *Surang* was also dedicated to Śiva and Viṣṇu, the one

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

facing east or Ramsagar lake probably to Śiva and the adjoining one facing west to Viṣṇu. These presumed dedications appear to be borne out by the mutilated details of their doorways some of which can still be made out at the lower ends of the jambs.

The doorway of the western shrine, like that of the eastern one, was richly carved and divided into an inner and outer frame. At the lower ends of the former is Gaṅgā to right and Yamunā to left, each followed by two female figures, all badly mutilated. The ornamentation above them has completely disappeared. To right, at the lower ends of the outer frame, is a four-handed attendant of Viṣṇu whose head has disappeared. His left upper hand holds a *cakra* and the right upper probably a *śaṅkha*, of which only the lower part has survived. In the lower hands are arrows. The corresponding figure at the left end was also four-handed, but the hands together with the attributes held in them are no longer extant. This figure wears a high *Kirita mukuta*. The above door-keepers would be appropriate to a Viṣṇu temple.

Of the doorway of the eastern shrine the inner frame has mostly disappeared, but the lower ends, as indicated by a portion of it at the right hand, were presumably occupied by the two river goddesses each followed by two figures. At each of the lower ends of the outer frame is, again, a four-armed attendant. The right hand one, whose face is mutilated, holds a *trisūla* and *kamaṇḍalu* in his left hands and wears a *Jatāmukuta*. The right hands are broken. The corresponding figure at the left hand is still more mutilated. These figures are seemingly appropriate to a Śiva shrine.

The upper central niche projecting from the north wall of the shrine into the *pradakṣhinā-patha* shows Viṣṇu, four-armed, seated in meditation on *kamalāsana*. In the upper hands are *śaṅkha* and *chakra*, while the lower ones are held in the pose of meditation. An *āyudhapurusha* with *śaṅkha* and *chakra* stands on either side. Seated in the upper ground are Śiva to his left and Brahmā to right. The corresponding lower central niche on the south side shows eight-armed Gaṇeśa, dancing, with a musician on either side playing on *mṛdaṅga*, his vehicle the mouse being indicated on the pedestal. The upper niche, now empty, seems to have accommodated Śiva originally as might be presumed from the Viṣṇu image in the corresponding niche on the north side.

A few sculptures are still *in situ* in the outer facing of this temple. In the central niche of the basement on the south

side is Brahmā with four hands, the left upper holding an *amṛita-ghaṭa* and the right a *pustaka*. On this side, above the lion frieze, in the second storey, was another frieze with panels in relief. Three of them in the west half are still *in situ* : the first one is a four-armed female figure, the second one a two-handed male figure, while the third one is Viṣṇu standing with four hands holding *chakra* and *gadā* in the upper two. In the lower niche at the western end of the south side is a four-handed Varāha standing with his right foot on the back of the tortoise and the left on a lotus upheld by a *nāga* pair.

This *Surang* consists of nine diminishing storeys originally crowned by the *āmalaka* stone which was *in situ* at the time of Cunningham's visit. See Pl. IV. The destruction of this fane and the disappearance of the greater part of the *debris* are certainly remarkable. Cunningham, assuming that it was a Jaina temple, ascribed its destruction to hostile Brāhmins and others to the bigotry of Muhammadans. In view of its identification definitely as a double Brahmanical shrine and even slightly better preservation of the Jaina temples at Dudhai, Cunningham's argument entirely loses its force. But to whatever cause the destruction may be due, it is obvious that right up to the topmost storey the temple has suffered from the ravages of a devastating fire. The columns and lintels are so badly split and broken as to leave little scope for the bearing of any iron supports. Consequently, it is impossible to suggest any method of conservation that may not detract sensibly from the appearance of this ancient fabric.

Cunningham refers to its very peculiar plan of which he had seen no other example. In 1931, however, I discovered a very similar Chandella temple at Urwara,¹ sixteen miles south-west of Mahoba in the Hamirpur District. This, too, is cruciform and stands on the south embankment of the Ratan-sagar lake. It was then two-storeyed and is built of coarse granite. Nearly three-fourths of this temple, which stands on a plinth 10' 9" high, juts out into the lake, and the remainder is buried beneath the floors of modern village houses. On three sides large flights of steps lead down to the lake. The temple measures 124 ft. from east to west, and, to judge from the steps in the centre of the east verandah, about 85 ft. from north to south, with the two arms meeting in the middle. The lower storey now shows only the circumambulatory passage formed by the verandah which runs all round, but on the inner side the pillars which come at regular intervals are all built

¹ *Archaeological Survey Report for 1931-34.*, pp. 9-10, pl II, a.

Plate No. IV



Larger Suranga Temple

into a continuous wall. The upper storey shows two ruined rooms with a cruciform passage round them. One of the niches on the west side of this passage contained a mutilated image of dancing Kālī. It is not unlikely that here, too, there was a double shrine, the eastern one dedicated to Śiva and the western one to Viṣṇu. The size of the Urwara temple was more than two and a quarter times that of the larger *Surang* at Dudhai and, when entire, it must have been a really grand fane ideally situated on the embankment of a large lake.

Two rock-cut examples of about the 9th Century A.D. are also known from Masrur¹ in the Kangra District of the Punjab. Here in front of the principal complex of thirteen shrines all hewn out of one piece of rock and in line with the portico of the main temple rises on either side a small cruciform monolithic temple. The cella is square with a porch on each face and the spire a sixteen sided polygon, the tapering faces of which are ornamented with effective hourse-shoe diaper. In this case all arms of the cross are of the same length.

It will thus be seen that the curvilinear *Śikhara* in each of the three peculiar examples from Dudhai, Urwara and Masrur rose from the centre of the structure, whereas in other cruciform temples with three porches or shrines round the *maṇḍapa* the *śikhara* occupied only the ends. The effect of the two is necessarily different. Of the former, the spire is tall, ponderous and more compact and of the latter graceful and clustered.

¹ *Archæological Survey Report for 1915-16*, p. 42, Pls. XXVIII and YXXII, d.

SOME BUDDHIST ANTIQUITIES RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT BUDDHĀM.

By

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The Guntur district is famous for its numerous antiquities belonging to the Buddhist age. The stupas and other structures unearthed at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakonda are very well known. Many more places have yielded numbers of antiquities and many others still await exploration and examination. I have recently visited the Village of Buddhām and found a treasure of Buddhist remains. I am describing below a few of these remains with the hope that they will attract from scholars the attention that they deserve.

Buddhām is a village situated within seven miles from Bāpatla, the headquarters of a taluk of that name in the Guntur district. The village is a mine of Buddhist antiquities. There is not one house which does not contain a sculptured slab or an ornamented pillar. The villagers point out numerous sights from which these antiquities are being obtained even to this day. The entire village is inhabited by the Kṣattriya community. It seems that they migrated here during the famous famine of the year Dhātu over sixty years ago. At the time of their coming the present village site was a piece of waste land abounding in mounds and a few scattered pieces of marble sculpture. One old inhabitant of the village told me that the village was so named because there used to be a large size statue of the Buddha in the village. Probably, the village was originally named Buddhagrāma and this name might have changed subsequently into Buddhagam and Buddhām.

I will describe below some of the important places and antiquities examined by me.

1. *Stūpa site*—As one leaves the main road and enters the village there is a Choultry recently constructed. Around this is an elevation of considerable size. The villagers state that this was originally a high mound and the big size statue of the Buddha was obtained from it. This image, it seems, was broken up and reduced to powder.

2. *A cattle shed*—The mound slopes gently behind the choultry and joins another elevated site on which there is a cattle shed belonging to one of the leading cultivators. These sheds

are supported by wooden poles each of which has at its base a beautiful marble piece containing elegant sculptures but cut in the centre. One of these contains the figure of a miniature stūpa and another a Kalaśa within a frame beautifully ornamented. Another slab contains a lotus medallion and below it a frieze consisting of lions and human beings in graceful poses. The villagers state that digging on this site has brought to light many sculptured pillars and slabs.

3. *A casement slab*—In one house a big marble slab has been fixed under the base of the main gateway. This slab has an ornamented margin on all sides. The central part has been mostly broken but in a corner are to be seen the heads of human beings in an inclined position. This is undoubtedly a marble casing slab which once adorned the base of a stupa and contained some incident or other in the Buddha's life beautifully sculptured. Its size and general structure resembles that of the sculptured casement slabs unearthed at Nāgārjunakonda.

4. *Sculptured slab*—At the western end of the village is a small shrine of the village goddess. A marble slab about $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ is built into the southern wall of this shrine. After washing the numerous coats of white wash on it and getting it carefully cleaned, I discovered that it contained a beautiful sculpture probably depicting prince Siddhārtha riding into the city of Kapilavastu. The work is of the late Amarāvati style and shows elegance and grace. Slabs of similar size and sculpture have been discovered at Nāgārjunakonda. Probably this slab was originally fixed above the base of the stupa and at the where the dome started.

5. *Sculptured slab*—Opposite this shrine there is a broken marble slab containing a circular lotus medallion. Its back is concave like that of numerous slabs at Nāgārjunakonda and we may infer that this was part of the casement either of a *cāitya* or of a votive stūpa.

6. *A pillar*—In another house is a broken marble pillar placed against a granary. There are traces of a lotus medallion in its centre and an indenture at its top obviously intended to support a cross-beam. Evidently this is one of the pillars that supported a mantapa attached to a monastery as at Nāgārjunakonda.

7. *Curved stones*—There is an old well in the village called Pallalamma-bhāvi so named after the village goddess. The pavement round the well consists of a number of curved grey marble stones carelessly thrown about. These stones are of various sizes and remind us of similar stones which form the

base of the small stūpas in the apsidal temples at Nāgārjunakonda. If all the big sized stones are properly arranged it is likely that they would indicate the circumference of a stupa as large as that of the Mahacāitya of Nāgārjunakonda.

8. *Octogonal pillar*—In the yard of another house there is an octogonal pillar with a rounded top and a base wider with traces of a design. This pillar resembles very closely the *ayaka* pillars attached to the stupas at Nagar junakonda.

9. *Another mandapa pillar*—One object of remarkable interest is a fine marble pillar carved on all four sides with circular and semi-circular lotus medallions. This pillar undoubtedly supported a mantapa. It is now laid accross a well and people stand on it and draw water. The carvings on this pillar are very beautiful.

10. *Another mandapa pillar*—This pillar about 7 feet high is buried under a hay stack in the yard of a house and is used to tie bullocks. All its four faces are carved. At the base is an elegant frieze of lions and human beings. In the centre there is a circular medallion. One of the narrower sides there is a nice frieze of elephants. The top of the pillar contains an indenture on which rested a cross-beam.

I could not obtain any inscribed slabs or pillars in spite of very careful search. The antiquities described above more than prove that a stūpa of considerable dimensions and importance once existed on the spot together with some monastic establishments. The village needs to be carefully examined and excavation on the spots indicated by the villagers is bound to bring to light some more antiquities.

I will refer in conclusion to another stray Buddhist antiquity in the town of Bapatla. The Bhāvanārāyanasvāmi temple of this place is well known throughout Āndhrādesā. Some of the idols worshipped in this temple are of considerable antiquity and are very good specimens of mediaeval Āndhra iconography. In the courtyard of the temple and fixed on either side of the Dhvajastambha are two marble pillars. One of them is plain and contains traces of a Telugu inscription. The other is of great importance. It contains at its base the figure of a five hooded Nāga. About it is a worn out figure of the seated Buddha in the dhyāna pose. In the third tier is a miniature stūpa of the plain type with āyaka pillars before it and an umbrella above it. I am told that this pillar was brought from outside and fixed in the temple about twenty years ago. I believe that it was conveyed here from Buddhām.

HARAPPA.

By

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All eyes of the world of historians today turn on Sindh, which, as is now well-known, had in the remote past possessed the most unique civilization which is calculated to be the first great civilization that the world had ever seen. No longer can Rome or Greece or Egypt claim to be the first harbingers of light upon earth—they are at best, the second or the third lights enkindled by the original flame of the ancient Sindh civilization. It is gathered from the present discoveries, that Rome had inherited and not originated the idea of citizenship first developed in Sindh and Sindh alone by its inhabitants who had lived in well-planned cities regulated by the municipal arrangements for public sanitation, drainage, bath etc., and that Greece noted for its sense of realistic beauty in art was anticipated by the lively figures first enshrined in Sindh on its precious seals that were an object of curiosity for the whole world. The sense of mystery that runs throughout the ancient Egypt is akin to the sense of mystery in the Sumerian religion that found its full development though not in Sindh, but in Mesopotamia whose ancient civilization in many vital points bears such a close affinity with the civilization of Sindh, that both Sindh and Sumer may be characterized as the main offshoots of a larger family living elsewhere. (See further my article on Egypt as colony of South-India, the original home of the Sumerians). The original home of the ancient Sindh civilization which included in its range the Sumerian civilization of Mesopotamia, therefore, can neither be Sindh nor Mesopotamia itself. The first family-home, as I shall attempt to show in successive stages in the sequel of these articles, must be somewhere in South-India; Sindh forming a second home if not the third, and Mesopotamia a third if not the second. The first uprush of the wave of civilization came by the sea-route from South-India. It reached its peak in the north in Sindh—its second home. It met its descent on the plains of Mesopotamia—the third home, whence it rolled on in various directions to Outer-Asia, Africa and finally to the sea-board of Europe. The wave might have reached direct to Mesopotamia and sent its cross-currents to Sindh. Indeed, the vast majority of the Indian population belongs to the

same races as the Akkadians, the Chaldaens and the Sumerians of Mesopotamia, who, as we shall discuss later on, arose in India from the same stock of people known as Dravidian. The Dravidian was the first civilized man on Earth holding the lamp of civilization for the succeeding generations of mankind. The Aryan who succeeded the Dravidian received full benefit from that light and added on to it. It would be admitted that the Aryan aristocracy was like a drop in the ocean of Indian population; but by a change of metaphor, it would also be conceded that the drop was a moondrop in the starry firmament of India! The various elements combined have produced a phenomenon that is known as Indian culture. The whole history of the Indian people has been an almost unique blending of the various elements from within and without, and to ignore any one of these elements would be to belie that history. The languages of India silently bear the marks of this permanent blending of Indian culture achieved in many ages in the past. The Indian languages have freely borrowed from each other as well as from foreign languages and are linking the Indian people together to a wider world of thought and action. It would be an act of fanaticism to tear from their vocabulary all words of alien growth. To amputate any one of them would be an act of treason to Indian history and civilization. The main course of Indian history has been in one direction-Harmony. To destroy that harmony would be nothing short of suicide!

The above remarks are relevant to our present enquiry, in which I take my chief stand on evidence supplied by language. Without indulging in any speculations, I now proceed to produce a mass of linguistic evidence that in my opinion goes to prove the above deductions. In passing, I may refer to the literary traditions, religious beliefs and practices of the Sumerians, the Akkadians and the Chaldaens of Mesopotamia, pointing to their original home in South-India. I may also refer to the archaeological evidence of the Sindh-textiles, the Indian material of beads, the monkey-seals, the Brahmi bulls, the pattern of Indian trefoil, and forms of personal fashion such as the Indian Coiffure found in the Sumerian tombs and temples in Mesopotamia, denoting in all probability, Sindh as the Cultural home of the Mesopotamian civilization. The high level of civilization reached in Sindh, before it had reached the land of Mesopotamia, indicated by the popular use of baked bricks in common buildings, town planning, public-bath and a system of public drainage connected with private houses etc., may also be discussed pointing to Sindh as the chief centre of the Meso-

potamian civilization . But in dealing with the prehistoric ages with which we are concerned—where even archæology fails to give us the lead; our only guide, as I have suggested above is the Science of Comparative Philology which alone is able to illumine the dark ages with the light of words that still survive ! In their flickering but unfailing light, I propose to take a leap in the dark and offer below a number of philological equations which in agreement with other evidences, may serve as a finger-post to ancient history. Let us begin with Harappa in Montgomery district in the Punjab, which comes within the orbit of the ancient Sindh civilization : and which has revealed to us, for the first time the new knowledge of that great civilization in India, which once ruled the world !

I know of three cognate names : HARAPPA in the Panjab, ARRAPHa or ARRAPKHA in Mesopotamia and and ARPPAKKAM in South India.

The philological equation may be studied as below:—

(The Mesopotamian) Arra-pha or Arra-pkha

(The North-Indian) (H) Ara-ppa.....

(The South-Indian) Ar-(p) pākkam.

The original to which these three names point out, may be reconstructed as Ar-pākkam. Pakkaṇ (पक्कण) in Sanskrit, signifying the abode of a forester (शब्द) appears to be a loan-word derived from the Dravidian Pākkam which signifies a town. [I suspect the Dravidian Pākkam in the name of a town Pāk-Patan in the Panjab; Paṭan meaning a town, itself of Dravidian origin as in Poudo paṭan-(Tamil, Pudu—new) a place mentioned by Greeks in Malabar coast]. The Mesopotamian and the North-Indian names in our equation above, represent a process of phonetic decay which is missing in the more original South-Indian name Ar-ppākkam : doubling of 'p' being only phonetic as in the case of Arkkādu, originally, Ar-kādu. As Ar-kādu signifies 'the forest of Ar,' Ar-pākkam signifies 'the town of Ar.' Ar being the name of a tribe who had inhabited South-India. That the Ar-people, in all probability, were autochthonous to South-India is, among other evidences, borne out by the names of the numerous villages, bearing the radical Ar, adjoining Arcot (ancient Arkādu), on the river Palar in South-India; names such as, Ar-kkonam, Ar-ni, and the name Ar-āppakkam itself which seems to be the origin of the North-Indian Harappa and the Mesopotamian Arrapha or Arrapkha. The foresters of Arkādu (Arcot) soon built cities round its neighbourhood and became the residents of towns such as Arppākam, and

occupied the territory towards north extending to the Arabian-sea. Wherever they went, these Ar-people had called the places of their new habitation by their distinguished tribal nama, such as that of (H) Ara-ppa in the Panjab, and Arra-pha or Arrapkha in Mesopotamia : both, if the philological equation set out above is correct signifying 'a town of the Ar'. It appears that the Ar-people of South-India, had in prehistoric ages, along the sea-coast reached the North and overspread the whole country. They are known to Sanskrit tradition as a tribe of the Nagas. (For the identification of the Ar-tribe with the Nāgas, see my article on Abraham as belonging to the same tribe). Even in a later period the Buddhist tradition in the Mahāvamsa 12(3—7) records the name of an Ar, known as Ar-Bal, a Naga-ruler of Kashmir, converted to Buddhism by saint Majjhantika. This would indicate that the Dravidian was not pushed to the south of India, as is commonly held by the coming Aryas. On the contrary, the Dravidian who had moved up early from south to North India and was in full possession of the whole country, had settled down with the Arya on peaceful terms in the north. It seems that Harappa in the Panjab was a forerunner of Arrapha in Mesopotamia. Arrapha (Arrapkha or Arrabhku) is located round Assyria and identified with the ancient Gutium, (modern Kirkukk) south of the lower Loab). The Arrapachites or men of Arrabhku are known as *invaders*. Hammurabi seems to have conquered them. The Chief of Arrapachites (Ararpakh) on the upper Zoab, north-east of Ninevah is recorded to have sent tribute to Egypt. (Ptolmey VI. 1,2, also note the Biblical, Arphaxad). The Assyriologists hold that Arrapkha (2,400 B.C. Gutium period) does not seem to have been known in the Ancient Sumerian period of Ur(3000 B.C.). Certainly, this view is in keeping with the order of the ancient historical facts—Akkadians of Arrapkha, stepping into the shoes of the Sumerians of Ur, that is, the Arkadians of Arcot or the Arrapachites of the South-Indian Arppākham, pursuing the old course of migration set out by their forefathers the Khmers (Known as Sumers) of South-India. That would make Harappa in the Panjab, with its Sumerian affinities as known from Sindh, more ancient than the Mesopotamian Arrapkha, without them.

Ramman, the thunder-god, it is held was the national god of Arrapkha. In Ramman, I see the South-Indian name Raman, pointing to its ancient prototype Ar-magan, the Lord of the tribe of Ar in South-India. (See my article on Abraham). Ramman forges a link between 'the town of Ar' in Mesopotamia and 'the town of Ar' in South-India. Was the town of Ar'

in Mesopotamia the, first colony of the town of Ar' in South-India, or the second, springing from 'the town of Ar, in the Panjab, could not be finally stated, until more of Harappa and of its language in the Panjab, were known? But one thing is certain from the two constituent elements of the three Common names of places, namely, AR and PAKKAM—both of which are Tamil words : that all the three towns were built by the speakers of the Tamil language, who had from a remote antiquity, their central home in South-India, the *Tamilagam*. The *Brahui* in Baluchistan may represent not an inward but an *outward* movement of the Tamils of India in quest of new lands finally settling in their new towns such as Arrapkha in Assyria. Even in historical times the adventures of Indians, by sea, to the land of Mesopotamia are known to us from the Buddhist Jātakas, such as the Baveru and the Suppārak-Jātaka.

The three *Harappas*, as I should call them one in South-India, one in North-India, and one in Mesopotamia, clearly indicate that India even in prehistoric ages was not fragmented but united as between north and south; and not isolated but in close contact with the outer world. The city of Harappa in the Panjab may be a dead skeleton underground but its soul reflected in its name uniting the three lands, is still living and free ! (*For further lights on Harappa and its transplantation and identification with Arabia, see my article on 'Indo-Arabic' Unity in the ancient world-I, in the Delhi University Magazine, 1947*).

THE ARYO-DRAVIDIAN CHARACTER OF THE MOHENJO DARO INSCRIPTIONS.

By

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One of the most outstanding problems that still requires a fuller investigation in the field of Indology is the one in regard to the decipherment of the Indus Valley inscriptions. Recently scholars like Pran Nath, Waddell and Father Heras tried to apply various methods towards the solution of this problem. But, as Dr. V.S. Sukthankar once expressed to me personally, no other scholar agrees with what these scholars have expressed about themselves individually.

After a study of about four years in the field of Dravidian research, I must frankly admit that there is much that can draw our admiration in the theory of the Rev. H. Heras, S.J. However, though, I was all the while satisfied with regards to his solution of the problem of the similarities between the Sumerian and the Mohenjo-Daro inscriptions, still I felt doubtful whether the language of these inscriptions could be Dravidian. Father Heras has applied the so-called proto-Dravidian, whereas I am now fully convinced that we can obtain better results by applying the Ancient Sanskrit alone.

THE MAIN HYPOTHESIS..

The main conclusion of Fathers Heras is that along with the civilisation the language of the proto-Dravidians must have been the proto-Dravidian, and that in view of this, the language of the inscriptions also must have been the same. Further, apart from the data in regard to the remnants of the Dravidian language in the non-literary dialect Brahui, the most significant fact, which seems to have drawn his attention, while taking such a step is the mention of the three Gods An, Enlil, and Ama in the Sumerian inscriptions. In one of his articles he has also shown how the Sumerian script happens to be a later development of the one at Mohenjo-Daro. And by making a comparative study of both these pictographs he has tried to prove that by the application of the proto-Dravidian languages instead of the Sumerian one can get a correct meaning of the same.

But can this all be true ?

THE AGE OF THE MOHENJO-DARO CIVILISATION.

In our opinion the age of the Mohenjo-Daro civilisation seems to have started with the pre-Vedic and extended upto the post-Rgvedic period. In this sense, it is neither pre-Vedic nor post-Rgvedic, but it is inclusive of both. Elsewhere we have tried to prove that the legend of Manu and the Flood really refers to a great oceanic activity which must have taken place immediately after the close of the Bhārata war, and which must have been also responsible for the extinction of the mighty River Saraswatī of Rgvedic fame, of the Indus Vally and probably of so many other sites of historical importance.

Almost all the Indus Valley finds show the existence of a civilisation mainly of a non-Aryan character. The Rgvedic and the Atharvānic data prove the existence of such a civilisation side by side with that of the Aryan. If this be so, then it is very much probable that the Indus Valley civilisation must have been a *running civilisation*, occupying such a vast expanse of time such as that of the *pre-Vedic and the post-Vedic periods also*.

ARYANS AND THE INDUS VALLEY CIVILISATION

The existence of the Aryans in India during the Indus Valley period is a possibility. The various references in the Rgveda made in connection with the different tribes like the Viśānis, the Śivas, the Matsyas, the Alinas and the others, and the expressions like Mrdhraṇvāc, Grathin, Anyavrata, the three-headed and six-eyed Dāsa, Ahi as Deva (God), etc.—all these clearly indicate the close contact of the Aryans with the original inhabitants of India. The Atharvaveda goes a step further when it makes definite efforts to Brahmanize the early notions and practices of these people.

The craniological data clearly points out the existence of both the Brachycephalic and Dolichocephalic skulls during the Indus Valley period. The system of cremation so much favoured by the Aryans seems to have been in vogue in those times.

INDUS VALLEY SCRIPT AND THE ARYANS

We must frankly admit the perfect ingeniousness of the Rev H. Heras, S. J., when he shows the similarities between the Sumerian and the Indus Valley scripts. But what we propose is that better result could be obtained by applying the Ancient Sanskrit rather than the so-called proto-Dravidian to the Indus Valley pictographs.

The early Vedic period itself shows a clear trace of the Sanskritization of both the Dravidian language and culture. In fact the particular vocabulary which has been drawn by Father Heras has got all its equivalents in Sanskrit—so much so that the former looks as if a translation of the latter. As a further enunciation we may say that the so-called dead language Sanskrit is to be found in its more definite and clearer aspects during the Vedic period itself.

As an instance or two we may point out how the process of the application of the Sanskrit words instead of the Dravidian ones (mainly drawn from Tamil) would suit the context better. One of the inscriptions according to Father Heras reads 'Mun Min kan'. The same may be read as indicating *trinetra matsya*. The sign for 'crossways' is said to be Kada. But the Sanskrit has already the expression *Catuspatha*. Father Heras calls the country of India as 'Sid (to flow)'. But the expression *Vāhika* also is derived from the root 'Vah' (to flow). The latter expression is more in keeping with the context, especially in view of the fact that it does not seem to be the business of the Mohenjo-Daro people to deal with the history of the whole of India. Their activities seem to have been restricted to a particular tract of the country. Besides the expressions like *Mūnur*, *Ān* etc.—which are not generally in vogue during any period of history, have got equivalents in Sanskrit e.g. *Tripura*, *Śiva*, etc.

Thus, our main theory is that the existence of a spoken Dravidian language in the North is an absolute possibility. But, immediately after their arrival, some of the Aryans like the Bhrgus must have picked up the fancy of mixing themselves with the Dravidians—the main outcome of which are these inscriptions. The tradition of *Chitragupta* as depicting secretly the working of human beings clearly denotes the existence of a pictographic script in Ancient India.

In view of all this, it is now high time for scholars in the field of Indology to work out the whole of the planning of Father Heras in a new light. In our opinion, the application of the Ancient Sanskrit alone can give a satisfactory reading of the Mohenjo Daro pictographs.

TWO EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

By

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I No. CV of Fleet's Sanskrit and Old Canarese inscriptions (IA. x, p.167) records the grant of Nareyangal fifty to the Lokeśvara temple; it stipulates that each *mattar* of land is to give two *kuḷa* of *colam* (millet) to the temple, a *kuḷa* being the same as *koḷaga* of sixty-four seers as Fleet explains. This is followed by a sentence which reads : Tagappilla, gosane illa, rājapurusaṅge pugil-illa, which Fleet rendered into : 'There is no peremptory demand ; there is no (obligation of) presenting cattle ; there is no right of perquisites (allowed) to the king's servants'. In his notes he said *tagappu* is evidently the old form of *tagavu* 'peremptory demand for payment' which seems satisfactory. But *gosane*, he said, was perhaps a corruption of the Vedic 'goshanī' *gosane*, 'acquiring or presenting with cattle' and *pugilu* was the same as Hindusthani *phakshi*. I think in both cases the meaning is much simpler. *Gosane* is *ghoṣaṇā*-proclamation (of default to be followed by processes of distraint) (cf. *bheriya gosane bhūtālāgradol* in l. 16 of SII. IX. i. No. 101;) and *pugilu* is simply entry. Hence the second and third members in the sentence mean only-no proclamation, and no entry of king's servants.

2. No. CIV of the same collection (ib. pp. 166-7) is an inscription comprising two verses in Sanskrit both in Āryā metre, and bearing the name Acalada at the end. Fleet's description of these verses saying that they are 'in praise of Acalada-Bharata, the author of a work on dramatic composition' does scant justice to the contents of the record. Having thus almost completely missed the significance of the inscription, Fleet omitted to give a facsimile of it and we have now to depend solely on his judgement of the age of the record. He says : 'The characters are of the eighth or ninth century A.D. But as it is engraved on a pillar of the Lokeśvara now Virūpākṣa temple of Paṭṭadakal on a pillar which bears a record of the reign of Vikramāditya II, we may take it for settled that the record belongs to the eighth century and is coeval with the temple where it is found. The temple, as is well known, was erected by Lokamahādevī, the Haihaya queen of Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733-47)'.

If we turn to the contents of Acalada's verses with this knowledge of the date of the inscription, we find it to be of con-

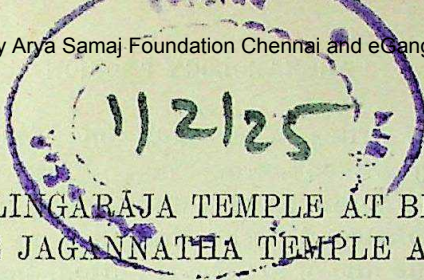
siderable interest to the history of the art of dancing in South India. I shall now reproduce the two verses and translate them before proceeding to estimate their historical importance :

Bharata-nuta-vacana-raṇā
viracita-nāṭa-sevya-siṃghanādena |
paramāta-mandāndha-hastī
prahīna-mado bhavatyeva ||
Nāṭa sevya-Bharata-mata-yuta-
patutara-vacanāṣani prapātena |
kuṭilonnata-nāṭa-sailaḥ
sphuṭit-ānata-mastakaḥ-patati || Acalada ||.

'The elephant, blind with rut, which is an actor of another school, is deprived of his frenzy by the lion's roar of (the rules) that are to be observed of actors, framed in accordance with the arrangement of the celebrated sentences of Bharata. The crooked, lofty, mountain, which is an actor proud of his twisted (acting), falls down, having its summit (which is the actor's head) broken open and bowed down by the thunderbolt, which is a most skilful composition imbued with the opinions of Bharata, which are worthy to be followed by actors. Acalada'. The translation is Fleet's with a slight alteration relating to kuṭilonnata-nāṭa-sailaḥ of the second verse.

That Acalada is the name of the composer of these two verses is clear ; it is equally clear that the Bharata referred to in both verses is no other than the celebrated author of the Nāṭyaśāstra whose rules formed the basis of a new treatise on dance ; so that Fleet's remark on 'Acalada-Bharata, the author of a work on dramatic composition' is doubly inaccurate because : (1) we have no evidence of a name like Acalada-Bharata and (2) the treatise praised in the verses is clearly not a work on dramatic composition, but on the art of dancing. It is a pity that the inscription does not reveal more about the author and his work ; even their names seem to be carefully withheld in the exuberance of Acalada's conceits.

But even more interesting, if equally tantalising, is the reference to a rival school of acting as paramāta madāndha hastī and kuṭilonnata-nāṭa-sailaḥ. These verses seem then to be an echo of a contest between rival schools of dancing that ended in a decisive victory for that of Bharata resuscitated in a new work in western Deccan early in the eighth century, in the reign of the Cālukyan emperor Vikramāditya II. It is possible that the progress of the research may yet be able to identify this epoch-making treatise on dance, though we seem to know nothing of it now.



DATE OF THE LINGARĀJA TEMPLE AT BHUBANESWAR AND THE JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE AT PURI.

By

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It is rather unfortunate that the three famous temples of Orissa—Lingarāja, Jagannātha and Konāraka do not possess any commemorative inscriptions like Brahmesvara, Meghesvara and Anantavāsudeva temples of Bhubaneswar which were built by relations of the reigning sovereigns of Utkala; and from this it appears that the great patrons of art and architecture in Orissa were not keen to leave their name behind. But the people of Orissa were not forgetful of the memory of their great kings, and traditions are current in Orissa and also recorded in the *Mādalāpānji* or the chronicles of the Jagannātha temple, that the Lingarāja temple was built by the kings of the Keśarī dynasty and Jagannātha and Konāraka temples were built by the kings of the Ganga dynasty of Orissa, and though these traditions do not give us the exact dates of the temples yet they furnish us with the chronological data on the dates of these temples. In this paper I have made an attempt to assign approximately the definite date of Lingarāja and Jagannātha temples from the study of inscriptions.

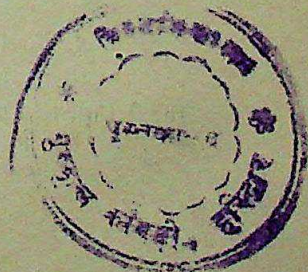
A. THE LINGARĀJA TEMPLE.

The Brahmesvara temple was built by Kolāvatī Devī,¹ the mother of Mahārājadhirāja Udyota Keśarī, and this Udyota, Kesarī is no other than the king of the same name who granted the Bālijhari copper plate.² As the name Udyota Keśarī is found after Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha, who was defeated by the Rājendra Chola³ in 1024-25 A.D., his date is to be assigned after 1025 A.D. Two kings named Nahuṣa and Yayāti II preceded Udyota and if we allot 25 to 30 years for them, the date of succession of Udyota Keśarī can be assigned to 1050-1055 A.D. and the date of Brahmesvara temple which was erected in the 18th year of his reign thus comes to some where near 1070 A.D.

¹ L. I. N. I. Bhandarkar No. 1572.

² J. B. & O. R. S., 1931. pp. 1-24.

³ *Journal of India History*. April, 1941, pp. 1-11.



R. Chanda writes in his note on *The Lingarāja or the Great Temple of Bhubaneswar* that "between the style of decoration of the Brahmesvara and the Lingarāja there is considerable resemblance. * * The Brahmesvara and the Lingarāja represent a single line of artistic tradition, the latter monument having been in all probability erected by one of the ancestors of Udyota Keśarī, say about 1000¹ A.D."

The Ganga king Rājarāja I of Kalinganagara defeated the king of Utkala in 1075-76 A.D. and it proves clearly that the power of the Keśarī dynasty was weak in 1075 A.D. On the other hand the inscriptions of Yayāti II and Udyota Keśarī show the opulence and power of the Somakulī Keśarī dynasty of Orish and the weakness of the dynasty may naturally be attributed to a successor of Udyota Keśarī after his death before 1075 A.D. During the period of 50 years from 1025 to 1075 A.D. we find from inscriptions of the Somakulī kings the names of Nahuśa, Yayāti and Udyota Keśarī and as the Brahmesvara temple was built in the 18th year of reign of Udyota Keśarī, we may safely say that Udyota Keśarī ascended the throne about in 1050 A.D. If 20 years are allotted to Yayāti II., he ascended the throne in 1030 A.D.

Stirling recorded the following tradition in connection with the construction of the Lingarāja temple:—

"Towards the close of his reign Raja Yayāti Kesari began the buildings at Bhubaneswar."

Ananta Kesari, the second successor of Yayāti, "began the building of the great temple at Bhubaneswar."

"He was succeeded by Lalāt Indra Kesari, a personage of high repute in the legends of the Bhubaneswar temple, in consequence of his having built or completed the great pagoda at that place sacred to Mahadeo under the title of the Ling Raj Bhubaneswar."²

It is all possible that the great structure is a work of two generations and the construction of the temple was begun by Yayāti II towards the close of his reign and completed by Udyota Keśarī at the beginning of his reign after 1050 A.D. It seems to me that *Lalātendu* or *Lalāta Indra* was a title of Udyota Keśarī and the tradition has only adopted the title and not the name. There is a cave called Lalātendu Keśarī's cave in the

¹ A. R. A. S. I. 1923-24, pp. 121-22.

² Stirlings *Orissa* (Bengal Secretariat 1904 reprint from edition of 1822) Calcutta p. 70.

Khandagiri hill, but the inscription in it refers to Udyota Keśari who was really the *Lalātendu* or the *Moon on the forehead* of the Somakuli Keśari kings in consequence of his having built or completed the great Lingarāja temple at Bhubaneswar.

So Chanda's suggestion of 1000 A.D. for the date of the Lingarāja temple accepted by Dr. A.K. Commaraswamy¹ and Mr. Percy Brown² needs correction according to the new epigraphical evidence now available and the date of the Lingarāja temple can be safely assigned to the middle of the 11th. century A.D.

B. THE JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE.

Dr. A.K. Coomaraswamy³ assigns c 1150 A.D. as the date of Jagannātha temple, but Mr. Percy Brown⁴ puts the date of the temple as 1100 A.D.

M.M.Chakravarti has approximately assigned 1193-94 to 1198-99 A.D. as the date of the Meghesvara temple⁵ at Bhubaneswar which was built by Svapnesvara Deva. The date of the Anantavāsudeva temple by Chandrādevī is 1278 A.D.⁶ These two inscriptions do not mention any thing about the erection of the Jagannātha temple by Chodagangadeva or Anangabhīmadeva of the Ganga dynasty. But according to verse 27 of the copper plate of Narasimha II⁷, Chodaganga built a *Prāsada* for Puruṣottama and from this M.M.Chakravarti writes that "Under his orders was built the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri."⁸ This is the only authentic record relating to the date on the construction of the Jagannātha temple by a successor of Chodaganga. Mr. R. Suba Rao gives the period of rule of Chodaganga from 1076 to 1147 A.D.⁹ and writes that Chodaganga transferred his capital to Cuttack in 1135 A.D.¹⁰ So the date assigned by Dr. Coomaraswamy comes nearer to the last year of Chodaganga's reign in 1145 A.D.

¹ *History of Indian & Indonesian Art*, 1927 p, 115.

² *Indian Architecture*, 1942. p. 120.

³ *History of Indian & Indonesian Art*.

⁴ *Indian Architecture* p. 120.

⁵ *J. A. S. B.* 1903 p. 116.

⁶ *E. I.* Vol. XIII p. 151.

⁷ *J. A. S. B.* 1896 p. 240.

⁸ *Ibid.* 1903. p. 110.

⁹ *J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. VII. p. 182.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 58.

M.M. Chakravarti wrote the following in his paper on "Jagannātha temple in Puri." :—

"1. The present temple of Jagannātha was built under the orders of Chodaganga.

"2. It existed there at about 1070 A.D. and might have been built between 1085-90 A.D.

"3. The conquest of Orissa took place very early in the reign of Chodaganga, probably in the first decade of his reign (1075-1085 A.D.)"¹

The above conclusion and the date given by Mr. Percy Brown are not proved by the epigraphical records. Full suzerainty of Chodaganga was not established in Orissa before 1118 A.D. and his capital was not located there before 1135 A.D. So the construction of the Jagannātha temple was taken up by him after 1135 A.D. and the work was finished during his life time e.g. 1145 A.D. The dates of Jagannātha temple at Puri can thus be safely assigned to the middle of the 12th. century A.D.

As regards the date of the Konāraka temple both traditions and inscriptions in copper plates of Narasimhadeva II to Narasimhadeva IV agree in ascribing to king Narasimhadeva I who ruled from 1238 to 1264 A.D., and built the Konāraka temple. Here also the date of the Konāraka temple can be safely assigned to the middle of the 13th century A.D.

¹ J. A. S. B. 1898. p. 331.

BENGALI ŚAIVĀCĀRYAS IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY.

By K. R. VENKATRAMAN.

The stream of Tamil Śaivism, which goes back to the Śaṅgam Age expanded in the course of time with the flow of other streams from Western India and Northern India; and among the Ācāryas from the north were some from the Gauda Deśa.

An inscription¹ in the *Rāja Rājeśvaram* temple at Tanjore dated in the 19th year of Rājendra Cola I mention that the disciples of the Śaivācārya Śarva Śiva Paṇḍita included natives of Gauda.

Svāmi Devar was the designation of the royal gurus of the later Cola emperors; and we learn from the inscriptions that they were immigrants from Gauda Deśa, and originally belonged to the *Āmarāka matha* or *Āmarāśrama* in the Rāḍha country (modern Varendra in Bengal). We may construct the following list of Gauda Svāmi Devars, who were preceptors of Cola and Pāṇḍya kings from about the 11th to the 16th century.

1. Śrīkantha Śiva,² a contemporary of Kulottuṅga Cola I and Vikrama Cola.

2. Umāpati Deva, also called Nāna Śiva,³ a contemporary of Rājādhirāja II. He is reported to have warded off a Sinhalese invasion into the Cola kingdom by the power of his prayers.

3. Śrīkantha Sambhu,⁴ a contemporary of Kulottuṅga III. He consecrated the Somanātha Deva temple at Acyutamangalam (Tanjore District.)

¹ Summary of a paper read at the 12th Session of the All India Oriental Conference (Benares Hindu University)—Archaeology section.

² *S. I. I.* Vol. II, Part I, No 20.

³ *M. E. R.* 301 of 07 (c. 1122 A. D.) Tiruviḍ aimarudūr (Tanjore Distt.)

⁴ *M. E. R.* 20 of 99—(1168 A. D.)—Ārpākkam.

⁵ *A. R. E.* 393-396 and 402-403 of 25. (Latest known date—A. D. 1118.

⁶ *A. R. E.* 40 of 06 (A. D. 1193)

4. Someśvara (Sōmanātha also called Īśvara Śiva, a late contemporary of Kulōttuṅga II,¹ who lived in the time of Rāja Rāja III² also; to whom may be assigned the authorship of *Siddhānta Ratnākara* and *Krīṇākradyotikā*.³ He consecrated the image set up in the famous temple which Kulōttuṅga built at Tribhuvanam.

5. Śrīkāntha Deva,⁴ a contemporary of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. He bore the titles of *Gauḍa cūdāmani* and *Vidyāsamudra*. The Hoysala king Vīra Rāmanātha built a *matham* at Tiruvānaikkovil (Trichinopoly) at the request of a disciple⁵ of this Svāmi Deva; to which the temple authorities of the place granted house sites.⁶

6. Mahāgaṇapati Vāma Deva,⁷ a contemporary of Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvana Cakravarti Kulōttuṅga Pāṇḍya (acc.A.D. 1421)—one of the later Pāṇḍya kings who ruled a small tract of country comprising part of the modern district of Tinnevely.

7. Mahagaṇapati Bhaṭṭa,⁸ a contemporary of Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvana Cakravarti Kōnermmeikoṇḍān Ābhirāma Parākrama Pāṇḍya Deva, another late Pāṇḍya Chief.

There were Gauḍa Ācāryas among the gurus of the Lakṣādhyaī Golaki santānam; the most famous among them was Viśveśvara Śiva form Pūrvagrāma in the Rāḍha country. The reputed preceptor of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati, Viśveśvara was honoured all over the Tamil country, and his erudition piety and munificence are recorded in a Malkāpuram grant,⁹ dated Śāka 1183 (A.D. 1261). He built temples and established *mathams* in different parts of the Tamil country. We hear of three of his sons from the inscriptions of the 13th century—Paripūrṇa Śiva, Sānta Śambhu or Sānta Śiva and Uttama Śiva.

¹ A. R. E. 9 of 36 (A. D. 1220.)

² Hultzeh : *Report on Sanskrit. Mss. II—XVII.*

³ A. R. E. 31 of 1900 and 274 of 13 (known dates A. D. 1257. 1264. and 1266.)

⁴ A. R. E. 21 of 91.

⁵ A. R. E. 125 of 37.

⁶ A. R. E. 569 of 17. (A. D. 1466.)

⁷ A. R. E. 465 of 17 (A. D. 1549).

⁸ A. R. E. 1917, pp 123, 126-7

PHILOLOGY SECTION.

SOME NEW INDO-EUROPEAN PARALLELISMS.

By

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Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan.Gr. *αργε*: Skt. *arjî*-.

The fact that some of the I.-E. adjectival forms in *-ra-*, when occurring as first members of compounds, substitute their *-ra-* by *-i-*, was noticed first by Caland (KZ.32, p.592) and later amplified by Wackernagel (Vermischte Beiträge, p.8ff. and Altind. Gr. II, 1, §24). Wackernagel (ibid.) further pointed out that the *-i*-forms alternated with the *-ra-* forms occasionally without compounds also. Later on other scholars also discussed the same phenomenon in detail, so, e.g. Walde-Pokorney (Vgl. Wb. Idg. Spr. I, p.82), Persson (Beiträge, II, p.827ff.), Bechtel (Lexilogus zu Homer, p. 55), Bartholomae (Idg. Forsch. 11, p.136f.) and Hirt (ibid.12, p.200) etc. The pair of words that has most often been quoted as illustrating the above fact is Skt. *ṛjṛā*- "reddish, bright" or "going straight-forward," substituted by *ṛjī*- in the compounds *ṛjīti*- "shining, burning" (so acc. to Grassmann RV. Wb.), *ṛjīpyā*- "going straightforward" etc., and Gr. *αργος* "bright, glistening" or "swift" (from earlier **αδῖδος*), substituted by *αδῖ*- in the compounds *αδῖ-Κέδαινος* "having brilliant lightning," *αδῖ-Πους* "swift-footed" etc. Cognate with *ṛjṛā*:-*αδῖος* we have Skt. *arjuna*- "white," *ṛjū*- "straight," *rajata*- "silver," Avest. *reezata*, Lat. *argentum*, Celtic *argat* etc., all meaning "silver". The apparent diversity of the meanings of the original root, viz. "bright," "red," "white," "straight" and "swift", has been explained as being due to later development of the single concept "bright." "Red" and "white" are both "bright" colours, a "straight-forward" movement is "rapid," and a "rapid" movement is easily associated with a kind of "flickering light" (Wackernagel and Walde-Pok., ibid., Liddel-Scott, Greek-English Lexicon, s.v. *αργος*).

The various words mentioned above undoubtedly go back to one and the same I.-E. root, but they differ from each other in the Ablaut-forms. Thus, Skt. *ṛjū*-, *ṛjra*- and *ṛjī*- and Avest. *Irđzata* presuppose the root form **rg*-; Skt. *ārjuna*-, Lat. *argentum* and Celt. *argat* another root form **arg*-; Skt. *rajata*- the root form **reg*-; and Gr. *lerl*-, *leros* either the form **arg*-, or

possibly the form **rg-*. Consequently, we have to set the dissyllabic base **areg-* as the original I.-E. root. (See Walde-Pok. Vgl. Idg. Wb. s.v. and Hirt Ablaut, p.124). It will be noticed that the primitive root possesses two vowels, *-a-* and *-e-*, in the normal grade. The second vowel has assumed Cipher-grade in all the words except in Skt. *rajatā-*, while the first vowel shows the Cipher-grade in Skt. and Avest. words only. We may, therefore, regard the Ablaut *are-*: *ar-* as common I.-E. and old, and the Ablauts *are-*: *re-* and *are-*: *r-* as merely Aryan and later. It follows that Gr. *αργε* and *αργος* go back to older **argi-* and **argros*, while Skt. *rjī-* and *rjṛā-* go back to **rgi* and **rgr̥s*. It is true that Gr. *ar* can go back to I.-E. **r-* as to **ar-*. However, as stated above, there is no warrant to suppose the existence of *r-* forms in the I.-E. word. (I.-E. *r* would be represented by *or-* in Lat.). *rjī-*, therefore, cannot be regarded as truly identical with Gr. *αργι* and that probably is the reason why Bechtel (Philologus, 59), despite being fully aware of the existence of Skt. *rjī-*, so eagerly searched for the Indian equivalent of Gr. *αργι* which, he felt, must have existed. For, the two words *árjuna-* and *rjī-* evidently suggested the existence of the required word *arjī-*. Bechtel was not fortunate enough to know it, but the word *arjī-* really does exist in Skt., although not yet registered in any of the Dictionaries, nor noticed by Etymologists. It occurs in the following passage of the Āp. Mantra Br. 2.16.2 (= Bhār. Gr. Sū. 2.7 = Hiraṇyak. Gr. Sū. 2.7.2.): *-alūava* (ĀpMB.-ba) *īt tām ūpahwayatarjīm* (v.l. ĀpMB.-*hwayatharjīm*, HG.-*hwayatarjīmac*, BhG.-*hwayatharjīc*)¹ *chyaṁāḥ śabalāḥ* (v.l. HG. *chambalāḥ*) *adhorama* (HG. *atho-*) *ulumbalāḥ sārameyo ha dhavāti*.¹

¹ All the three texts contain numerous mistakes and corruptions, and the MSS. show many variants. In the above passage ĀpMb has six variants: *ajīr*, *ajīm*, *arjin arji*, *arjin* and *arjīn*; HG. has two: *arjīmac* and *arjañ*; and Bhār. G. also two: *arjīc* and *ajjīr*. Of these only three are worth any notice: *arjīn* (Acc. Pl.), *arjīn* (Acc. Pl.) and *arjīmac*—(*cabalah*) (in compound), of which, again, *arjīn* may be discarded as being out of place with the Acc. Sg. *tām*. *arjīmac*—(*cabalah*) as the first member of a compound is also hardly likely, as all the other parallel words occur without compounds. In all probability the original reading was—

aūlava īt tām upāhva/ yatārjīm (or-*jīh*) *śyāmah śabalāḥ//*
adhōrāma ulumbalāḥ/ sārameyo ha dhāvati//

(Metre in the first half is, of course, defective).

Winternitz (Āp. MB. Word-Index), following the comment. Haradatta, divides *ūpahwayatha arjīn śyāmah*. Also Renou, Index Vedique, p. 36, registers the word as *arjīn*. Neither of them, however, gives any indication as to the meaning and the formation of *arjī*. Kirsto (HG. Word-Index) divides *arjīmat-śabalāḥ*. Provided *arjīmat-* is not a corrupt reading, *arjī-* in this case may be regarded as a noun meaning "redness" or "swiftness".

The passage refers to Dog-Demons and may be rendered thus :—

“Aulava, indeed, has summoned him, the *arjī*- here. There runs the black dog, the variegated one, the one having black marks on the lower part, and the copper-coloured one”¹.

arj- in the above passage may mean either “red” or “white” (Cf. *àrjuna-*, *rjṛà-*) as dogs of various colours are mentioned, or it may also mean “running straightforward, swift” (cf. *rjipyā-* and Gr. *αργε πους* which would accord with *sārameyo ha dhāvati*. In either case, it is perfectly identical with Gr. *αργε* besides being one of the rare *-i*-forms alternating with *-ra*-forms outside a compound.

Lat. vestis : Goth. wasti-: Skt. vasti-.

The First Book of Taittiriya Āraṇyaka contains an interesting description of the six seasons which, along with some other deities, have been completely anthropomorphized. The author is very vivid in his description and rather particular about mentioning the colours of the garments of the deities and the personified seasons. Thus Vasanta has been described as having *sarāga-vastra*-“reddish garments” (TA. 1. 3. 4), Grīṣma as *śuklavāsāḥ* “white-clothed” (TA.13.3), Śarad as putting on *kaṇakābhāni vāsāṃsi* “golden-coloured garments” (TA.1.4.1), and the Ādityas as having *viśvarūpāni vāsāṃsi* “variegated garments” TA. 1.3.4, while the passage describing Hemanta says that he is seen with *apadhvastair vastīvarṇaiḥ* “faded out vasti-colours.

The context leaves us in no doubt as to the word *vasti*- being a synonym of *vāsas*-and *vastra*- “cloth” and a derivative from *√vas* “to wear, to put on”. Its formation as a noun in *-ti-* is equally clear.

Sanskrit Dictionaries register three different words *vasti*-. 1. meaning “fringe, skirt of a cloth” from *√vas* “to wear”, which is without accent and purely lexical; 2. meaning “staying, dwelling” from *√vas* “to dwell”; and 3. which is more usually written as *vasti*-, meaning “bladder, abdomen”, of uncertain origin.

The *vasti*- of TA. may be identified with the lexical *vasti*-(1) meaning “skirt of a cloth”, although there is no reason to

¹ Concerning Vedic and Homeric description of dogs and their colours, see *Vedische Studien* II, p. 58 and Schulze, *Sitzungs-Berichte der Preussischen Akademie d. Wissenschaft* 1910, p. 802).

suppose that the TA. passage refers to the "skirt of of a cloth" rather than merely to "cloth or garment". However, this is only a minor change in meaning and can be easily explained.

What is really interesting, but what has not been noticed so far, about *vasti*-, is the fact that two other I.-E. languages possess words exactly identical with it. We have *zestis* "cloth" in Latin and *wasti* "cloth" in Gothic, all three evidently going back to I.-E. **ues-ti-s*, from **ues-* "to wear". Gothic *-a-*, in place of the expected *-e-*, both in *wasti*- and in the verb *wasjan*, is to be explained as going back to **uos-*, an Ablaut of **ues-*. (See Kieckers, Handbuch d. vgl. Goth. Gramm. §35, pp. 33 and 35).

None of the Comparative Grammars or Dictionaries have noted Skt. *vasti*- as identical with the corresponding Latin and Gothic forms. They mention only the cognate words *vastra*-, *vāsa*-, *vaste*-, etc. (For cognate words in other languages see, Wald-Pok., vgl. Wb. Idg. Spr. s. v. and Lat. Etymol. Wb. s. v. *vestis*).

Lith. palvas : OHG. *falo* : Skt. *pālava*.

One of the very well-known I.-E. words is **paluos* or *poluos* (<**pelous*) meaning "grey" 'pale' 'yellow', as inferred from Gr. *πελιος* (<**πλιFos*), *πολιος* (<**πολιFos*) "grey" Lat. *palidus* (**palu-idus*, Sommer, Lat. Handbuch §127) OHG. *falo* (<**falwo*), Lith. *palvas* and Old Slav. *plavu*, (<**polvu*, see Mikkola, Urslavische Grammatik §73, pp. 90f.), all meaning "pale, white". **uos* in the original word being a suffix (Kurze Vgl. Gramm. §403, 1), the I.-E. root is set down as **pel*, **pol*-. Other formations from the same root are Skt. *palita*- and *pali-kni*- "grey, old", Gr. *πελιυος*, *πελιδνος* "grey" Lat. *pullus* (<**pul-no-s*, <**pol-no-s*, Sommer, Lat. Handbuch, §57 b) "dark-grey" etc. Further, according to Liden, (Beitr. z. ai. und vgl. Sprachgesch., p. 90) Skt. *pandu*- "pale, yellow" (<**pel-nd-u-* or **pol-nd-u-*), *pāndura*-, *pāndara*- and *pātala*- also belong to the same root. Skt. *paraśa*- "variegated" and Avest. *paourusa* or *prsnī*- "variegated" Gr. *περκυος* "dark, dark-blue". (So Fick, BB. 29, p. 198 f.). But these two words too, in all probability, belong to I.-E. **pel*-, **pol*-, their first element *paru*- going back to *palu*- <I.-E. **pel-u*-.¹ (See Walde-Pok, Idg. Vgl. Wb. II,

¹ Cf. *aruśa*- and *aruṇa*- "red", going back to an I.-E. root **ereu*, ablauting as **eru*- and **reu*-. The latter gives rise to *ravi*-, the former to *aruśa*- and *aruṇa*-. See Persson, Studien zur Lehre von der Wurzelweiterung und Wurzelvariation, p. 287 ff. and Hirt, Ablaut, p. 117,

p. 53 f.). This becomes all the more probable when we consider the formation of *pālava*, a word hitherto left unnoticed. It occurs, amidst a whole host of other words denoting colours in a passage in *Kāṭhaka Samhitā* 5.3.8 :

*kr̥ṣṇāya svāhā, śvetāya svāhā, piśaṅgāya..., rohitāya..., śyāvāya..., śyāmāya..., pālavāya...,*¹

It is evident from the context that *pālava*- must be the name of some colour, and what could be more natural than to connect it with *palita*-, *paliknī*- and *pāṇḍu*-? As for its formation, two explanations may be given :

1. We may regard it as identical with Lith. *palvas*, Gr. *πελιος, πολιος* etc., with the difference that *pālava*- shows the lengthened grade of Ablaut (I.-E. **pel*-) and, besides, a 'connective' -*a*- between the root and the suffix -*va*- (I.-E. -*uo*-), so that we have to set the original I.-E. form, for *pālava*- as **pel-e-uo-s*. (For the 'connective' -*a*- cf. such forms as *vasati*-, besides *vasti*-, *dr̥ṣati*- (RV.) besides *dr̥ṣti*-, *tr̥pra*- besides *tr̥pala*- (= *tr̥para*-) etc. The normal form would, of course, have been **palva*-.

2 Or else, an easier way would be to explain *pālava*- as a secondary -*a*- derivation from **palu*- which may be identified with the *paru*- in *paraśa*-, and compare it with such forms as *tānava*- from *tanu*- or *bābhava*- from *babhu*-, **palu*- in this case being regarded as an abstract noun meaning "paleness" and *pālava*- being interpreted as "that connected with or having paleness."

Lat. *siccus* : Avest. *hiku*- : Skt. *sika*-.

Sikatā- "sand" is a familiar Sanskrit word. Its derivation, however, has so far remained obscure, or, at the best, doubtful. Walde-Pokorney (Vgl Wb. Idg. Spr. II, p. 467 and Lat. Etym. Wb. p. 700) tentatively mention it (with a query) under the list of words derived from I.-E. **seik*- "to be dry". The same root has given rise to Lat. *siccus* "dry" (> **sīcos**, Avest *hiku*- "dry" and *hāēcah* "dryness, aridity", Irish *siku* "frost" etc. This root is considered to be identical with another I.-E. root,

¹ The parallel passage in Taitt. Samh. 7.3.18.1, which is otherwise identical with the above KS. passage, has *pākalāya* in place of *pālavāya*. Sāyaṇa interprets *pākala*- as "quite black". But the passage already has three other words denoting dark colour: *kr̥ṣṇa*-, *śyāva*-, and *śyāma*-. Is *pākalāya* a mistake for *pālavāya*?

² This derivation of *siccus*, however, is not accepted by some scholars who would derive it from older **sit-cos*- and connect with Lat. *sitis* "thirst." For the details see Walde, Lat. Etymol. Wb. s. v.

seik- "to flow, to pour out" (Walde-Pok. *ibid.*) from which are derived Skt. *śic* "to sprinkle with water", Old Bulg. *eknati* "to flow, to dry out" etc. The seemingly probable derivation of Skt. *sikatā-* from the same root has so far remained uncertain because of the apparent difficulty in analysing and explaining its formation. The missing clue is supplied by the word *sika-*, occurring in a hitherto unnoticed passage of Taitt. Āraṇyaka 1.12.3. This passage describes *vāyu-* "wind" as *śvetasikadrukaḥ*. The compound is to be analysed into *sveta-sika-* *druka-* and explained as "scattering (*dru-ka*¹) white (*śveta-*) sand (*sika-*)" Sāyaṇa correctly glosses *sika-* with *sikatā-* (= *dhūi-*) and leads us to find in *sikatā-* a fem. abstract (collective) noun, formed from *sika-* + the suffix *-tā-*, in the same way as *janatā-* "people, folk" from *jana-* "man, person" or *grāmatā-* "villages (collectively)" from *grāma-* "village". The word *sika-* is neither registered in the Dictionaries, nor known to have occurred elsewhere, but it undoubtedly means "sand" and goes back to I.-E. **seik-* "to be dry," thus providing the so far missing Indian member of this word-group.

The accent in *sikatā-* is not normal, *-tā-* nouns being usually accented on the syllable immediately preceding the suffix. (See Whitney Skt. Gramm., §1237 a). This rule, however, is not unexceptionable. (Whitney, *ibid.* c). It is not unlikely that the shift of accent is in some way connected with the development of a completely concrete sense from an originally abstract one.

¹ *druka-* in the above compound is evidently a derivative from the root *√dru* "to run, to flow" + the suffix *-ka-*, and occurs as such in compounds like *raghudrū-* "running swiftly" (RV.), *śatadruka-* etc. Sāyaṇa, while interpreting *sika-* correctly, seems to have confused *druka-* with *dhruk-* (Nom. Sg. of *drūh-* "damaging, hostile"): *śvetānām sikatanām drogdhā* (!), *nānāvīdhām dhūlim utpādayatītyarthah* (!!). Petersburg Dictionary records a single "exceptional" occurrence of *drūk*, as Nom. Sg. of *drūh-*, in place of the usual *dhruk*: evidently a slip or corruption.

DIALECTAL USAGE OF CASE IN INDO-ARYAN

By

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In a paper that I published in the *Indian Antiquary*, twenty years ago (LII, 1923, pp. 171-6), while discussing the Declension of the Noun in the Rāmāyana of Tulsīdās, I observed that the "Use of alternative cases appears in Sanskrit literature as early as some of the earliest Brāhmaṇas." By further studies, I feel that considerable variance in usage existed at the time when Pāṇini wrote the grammar of the standard language and therein was able to give room only to such alternative forms as were of *most* outstanding usage. It is certain, however, that much alternation continued in the dialects spoken by the masses. Only a little of this could be preserved in the records of middle Indo-Aryan.

A close study of these records will, I hope, bring to light these alternative uses. For instance, in the *Suttanipāta* (Vs. 457) occurs this passage :—

Pucchanti ve bho brāhmaṇā brāhmaṇehisaha brāhmaṇo no bhavam ti

tam savittim pucchāmi tipadam catuvīsatakkharam

Here in one and the same verse, the root *pucch* (1) once places the so-called indirect object (the person asked of) in the accusative case (as is the usage in Sanskrit) viz. *tam savittim pucchāmi* (skt. *tvām sāvitrīm prcchāmi*), while (2) in the other puts it in the Instrumental case (*brāhmaṇehi saha*).

In Hindi, the root *pucch* never has the accusative usage of the person asked of, the post-position used being *se*. For example one would say :

brāhmaṇō se pūchtā hū
and never

brāhmaṇō ko pūchtā hū

The Hindi usage is completely in accord with the latter usage recorded in the *Suttanipāta*. It is curious that Hindi should have retained only the dialectal usage and should have entirely lost the standard usage of Sanskrit, or as a matter of fact of Prakrit, in this case.

I hope, further studies in this direction of students of Indian Linguistics would bring to light other usages preserved in the records of M. I. A. which would confirm the usage in modern Indo-Aryan. In Hindi the roots meaning 'to speak' have the Instrumental case of the person spoken to, but in Sanskrit and Prakrit language they have the accusative generally, except the root *kath* which governs Dative. This Dative usage is found in some dialects of Hindi with all roots meaning to speak, e.g. *Hamārē liyē kahā*, *hamārē liyē batāyā* (spoke to us). But the Instrumental usage might find consirmation in some earlier records on investigation. I feel that studies in this direction will prove fruitful.

K-SUFFIX IN SANSKRIT

By

PROF. DR. A. N. UPADHYE, KOLHAPUR

Whitney,¹ Edgerton² and others have discussed the different aspects of *k*-suffix. Edgerton's admirable discussion, however, is confined to pre-classical Sanskrit alone; and naturally the phenomenon of *k*-suffix in classical and post-classical Sanskrit is still to be studied.

Lately I have edited the *Bṛhat Kathakośa* of Hariseṇa³. It was composed at Wadhwan (in Kathiawar) in A.D. 931-32. Thus we are on a definite ground so far as the place and time of its composition are concerned; naturally the linguistic facts which we get from this text, as presented by the agreement of the available Mss., have got a specific significance for a critical student of Sanskrit grammar.

The *k*-suffix plays a remarkable role in the language of this text. It is added to nouns etc., without any notable change in the meaning; it is simply pleonastic or *svārthe k*, as the Prākṛit grammarians call it. The text is bristling with such cases; and I can quote here only a few examples by way of illustration. It is suffixed not only to nouns but also to adjectives, adverbs and numerals: *kanyakā* (65.20), *ghūkaka* (32.22), *dhātrikā* (60.168), *binduka* (102* 6.6), *bhūmikā* (11.133), *maṇḍaka* (7.68), *Mālavaka* (28.1), *vipraka* (139.103), *śatākikā* (50.15); also *ahinakam* (74.33), *ūnaka* (139.39), *ekakam* (74.32), *kṣaṇamātrkam* (63.87), *caturthaka* (129.2), *vārakam* for *vāram* (71.20). Still more striking is its presence in a series of pronominal forms scattered all over the text; a few typical ones may be noted here for illustration; and they are arranged in this order of the pronouns: *asmad*, *yusmad*, *tad*, *etad*, *idam*, *adas* and *yad*. Nom. sing.: *sakah* (4.32, 10.16, 59.37), *takah* (122.16); *sakā* (4.18, 7.64, 8.13, 12.2); *esakah* (126.80); *yakah* (56.220).—dual: *takau* (57.56, 332, 126.4)—pl: *take* (11.67, 78.39, 100.17) *takāh* (3.17, 57.524); *imakāh* (136.2); *yake* (16.32, 33.140); *yakāh*

¹ A Sanskrit Grammar, London 1896, sections 494, 1186, 1222 etc.

² The *k* suffixes of Indo-Iranian, Journal of the American O. S., Vol. XXXI, p. 93 f.

³ Singhī Jaina Series, No. 17, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana, Bombay 1943.

(68.46). Acc. sing. : *makām* (102.74, 106.60) ; *takam* (4.17, 32, 6.9, 7.45, 30.23 etc.) ; *takām* (60.75, 68.65) ; *svakām* (4.6).—pl. : *takān* (10.21, 33.140), *imakān* (76.19). Inst. sing. : *takayā* (21.21)—pl. : *imakaiḥ* (57.149). Edgerton has already noted how *asakau* is allowed by some grammarians and form like *anyake*, *yake*, *sakā*, *takā* are found in pre-classical Sanskrit.

I may add here a few more references casually noted by me. The Bhagavati *Ārāḍhanā* uses *tago* (= *takah*) for *sah* and *tagī* (= *taki*) for *sā* (gāthā Nos. 508, 1058); Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa* uses *yakā* for *yā* (23.28) ; and Jaggannātha Paṇḍita uses *mayakā* for *mayā* in his *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana* (p.1)¹. The suffix *l* also is found in some words : *andhala* (3.3), *pangula* (85.43 f), *Yājñavalka* (93.233), etc.

The presence of this *k* suffix may get partly explained, if it is called a Prākṛit influence, because in Prākṛits *k*-suffix is often used, as it is clear from such pronominal forms : *ahaam*, *ahayam*, *hage*, *hake*, *ahake*, *hakam*, *haū*. All these have led Pischel to postulate *ahakah*, besides the well-known *ahakam*. But when we see that even authors like Jaggannātha Paṇḍita use *k*-suffix for a pronoun, it becomes necessary to study the part played by it in classical post-classical works and shed more light on the origin and spread of this usage. I only request my other colleagues, gathered here, to throw more light on this phenomenon of Sanskrit grammar.

¹ In a Ms. of the *Aṣṭāhnikakathā* (No. 469 of 1884-86, B.O.R.I., Poona) the form *mayakā* for *mayā* is used thrice in the *Prasasti*.

A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF NON-MATHILI ELEMENTS IN BRAJABULI LANGUAGE

By

SUBHADRA JHA.

'Brajabuli' is said to be an artificial language. 'Maithili' is the basic part while 'Bengali' or 'Assamese' with oddments of 'Brajabhākhā' forms the superstructure. In 'Brajabuli' is available considerable literature consisting of short lyrics devoted to 'Rādhākṛṣṇa' theme, or small dramas. The lyrics were composed mainly in 'Bengal' and the small dramas were written in 'Assam'. During the mediaeval times, students from different eastern provinces would come to 'Mithilā' would learn not only the Śāstras, but would also learn the language of their teachers. They returned home with their minds full of admiration for the poems of 'Vidyāpati' and other writers of 'Maithili' lyrics, and 'Maithili' language. They in their love for this language adapted it for literary purpose so much so that it became the literary linguafranca of the whole of eastern provinces of India.

'Maithili' is, however, a very difficult language for a foreigner to learn. cf.

भाषांयदन्यदेशीयो मिथिलाया वदेत्तदा ।

पीतमिञ्चाकपोतेन समस्तं वारिधेर्जलम् ॥

Quoted by Mahākavi Chandra Jhā in his introduction to the 'Mithilābhāṣā Rāmāyana'.

Therefore it wuns not a usual that they could not have distinguished between 'Maithili' forms on one hand and 'Bengali' or Assamese words on the other. They would bring in forms from their own languages alongside with 'Maithili' forms. Sometimes they would imitate 'Maithili' words. At times they would bring in words from 'Brajabhākhā'. There were others who would mix 'Bengali' with 'Brajabhākhā'.

The name 'Brajbuli' was loosely applied for any writing in a 'Magādhā' dialect, that was not in pure 'Bengali'. There are persons who would brand a composition as written in 'Brajabuli' if they find in it the name of राधा and कृष्ण. Consequently the following linguistic characteristics are available in 'Brajabuli' literature.

1. Some of the poems are pure Maithili. Thus:—

कनहु यतने दुहुँ तेज.....

(Ballabhadasa quoted in पदकल्पतरु, pt. III p. 204).

2. Some of them are in pure Bengali. Thus:—

तोमाते आमाते येमत पिरिनि.....

(रसमयीवासी quoted in पदकल्पतरु, pt. III. p. 99).

So also in the Brajabuli written in Assam some of the passages are in pure Assamese. Thus:—

पुहने बुलिया आछा लबन् दिवारे.....[भूमिलोटोवा नाट, p. 6].

3. Some of the compositions are in Maithili mixed up with Bengali or Assamese. In several cases Brajabhākha forms have also been introduced. Thus:—

Maithili-Bengali-Brajabhākha mixture-(कइछे चरणे करपल्लव ठेलइ (वृन्दावतदास quoted by Dr. Sukumar Sen in his History of Brajabuli Literature). Here कइछे, कवले, अछ, पाडरि, लोटायल, ect. are imitated Maithili forms जिय is Bihari, मागो is Bengali, को is Brajabhākha, घसि गेओ is a mixture of Maithili and Brajabhākha.

Maithili-Assamese-Brajabhākha mixture. Thus:—

काहे गेयो काहे गेयो.....[रासक्रीडा.....P. 13].

Here गेयोगयो is Brajabhākha. So is करत गावे is Assamese. विचारि and मिलि have been taken from Maithili.

4. Bengali-Brajabhākha mixture. Thus:—

भारति युगल किशोर कि कीजे.....[पदकल्पतरु.....Pt. IV. p. 178].

Here कीजे and भेओ = भयो are of Brajabhākha. So are कि = की, यो निरखति, भलकत, याव, etc.

In the poems of the 2nd and the 4th groups we find nothing which we can call to belong to Maithili.

In the poems of the 3rd. class which forms the subject matter of this paper, the following Non-Maithili characteristics are noticeable.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

1. Following the early Bengali practice ज, स, न, derived from the OIA. य, श, ण, are written as य, श, ण, Thus —यव for जब [HBL.-p. 29]. ये for जे [ibid.-p. 4], शेज for सेज [ibid.-p. 3], पंचवान for पंचवान [ibid.-p. 25].

2. Confusion in the writing of ल, न, and ङ (ल), Thus:—कोले for कोळे, of Mod. Mai. कोरा, [HBL.-p. 23]; लोर for नोर [ibid.-p. 38].

PHONOLOGY.

1. ड is substituted for म or an intervocal vocal nasal vowel not preceded by a consonant. Thus :—याड for याञ्जो or याञो = जाञो or जाञो [PKT.-I, p. 213], सोडरव for सुमरव [ibid-p. 219], भाड for भो [ibid-IV-p. 100], etc.

It is just likely that ड in these cases was a graphic representation of व.

2. For उ, ऊ substituted ओ, दोनी [HBL-p.503], अगोर for अगुह [PKT.-IV.p.99], सोडरि for सुमरि [PKT. I p.17]; etc.

3. य is brought inside a word without any reason. Thus :—लेयल for लेल [PKT-III-p.63], देयल for देल [ibid-IV-p.176]; etc.

4. य is often substituted for व Thus :—जुड़ायह for जुड़ावह [HBL-p.29], कहायसि for कहावसि [ibid-p.569], etc.

5. OIA. ष is represented by ख in तद्धव words, instead of Maithili स, वरिखे for वरिसए [PKT-III-p.29], वरिखल for वरिसल [रामविजयनाटक—p.19]; etc.

6. ड < ठ instead of ढ < ठ, as in Maithili. Thus :—पड़त for पढ़ति, skt. पठति [PKT-IV 100].

7. In pronominal words like जसु, तसु, जइसन, etc. स is replaced च or छ Thus :—

यछु for जसु [PKT.-III-p 317], येचे for जइसे [कालिदमन—p.17], येछे for जइने [PKT-I-p.12]; etc.

MORPHOLOGY.

Declension of Nouns :—

In Bengali Brajbuli the following genitive affixes are found.

र and एर of Bengali ; को, के and कि = की of Brajbhākha. Thus :—

वतन कि पेच [PKT.—IV—p. 178], यमुना को कूल [HBL.—p. 50], ब्रजके भूप [PKT-IV-p. 116], कूलेर कामिन [PKT.-III-300], बधूर डाञ्जि [PKT.-IV-118]; etc.

In Assamese Brajabuli the affixes of the accusative and the dative are क and कु of Maithili के or काँ or कें, Thus :—

श्रीकृष्णक देखिते [कालिदमन p. 7];

काहाकु चूमन [रासक्रीडा p. 11]; etc.

In this ये for Mai. ए, is the affix of the instrumental. Thus :

गोपनारी काम भकतिये वंश्यकयल [रासक्रीडा p. 11], etc.

In both, the Bengali and the Assamese Brajabuli त is used as an affix of the instrumental ablative.

छागलीत कि प्रयोजन [रासक्रीडा-p. 11],
प्रेमेत, on account of love, [PKT-I-18]. etc.

In Assamese Brajbuli त is found in the locative also.
Thus :—

चक्षुत निमेष नाहि [कालिदमन p. 18].

Pronouns.

I Person.

For Mai. हम the following are substituted. हाम, मुञ्जि ।

Thus :—

हामे [रासक्रीडा-p. 12], हामाक [कालिदमन-p. 7], हामे [PKT-III-p. 9],
मुञ्जि [ibid-III-p. 149].

II Person.

तोह is the usual base in Assamese Brajabuli. Thus :—

तोहो आथन मरल [कालिदमन-p. 7],
तोहार कोन वेवहार [रामविजय नाटक-p. 19].

III Person.

In Bengali Brajbuli the forms in ओ are more common than the Maithili forms in ए Thus :—

को [PKT-III-p. 132], यो [PKT-III-149], etc.

Numerals.

दोन has been noticed in the place of Mai, दुहुँ [PKT-III-p. 317].

Verbs.

In the present tense the त forms abound in the III person.

Thus :—

चलत [PKT-III, p. 301], रोचत [PKT-III, p. 98], etc.

इल is one of the affixes of the past tense even from a verb ending in a consonant. Thus :—

मजिळुं [PKT-III—p 296], मानिळुं [HBL—p. 508], etc.

हो is irregular Mai. inasmuch as it has no forms for the past tense. But in Bengali and following it in Brajabuli we have. Thus :—

होइलुं [H BL—p. 508], होएल [ibid—p. 264], etc.

The absolutive is formed in इया, इये, आइ, etc. Thus :—

जितिये [रामविजयनाटक—P. 24],

बजाइ [ibid], तेजिया [PKT-III—p. 23]; etc.

This is but a very brief analysis of non-Maithili elements available in Brajabuli from the view point of grammar—the general structure of words. As regards vocabulary several non-Maithili words as can be naturally expected from Bengali and Assamese have crept in.

But we are not sure whether even these non-Maithili elements as stated above were brought in by the authors themselves or they were introduced therein by the non-Maithili scribes and editors. This becomes evident from the fact that in Bengali recension of Vidyapati's poems included in Vaisnava anthologies we come across abundance of non-Maithili forms. Thus हउल (PKT III. 148), छोड़ for छवि आओलुं (PKT. II p. 152) येछे (PKT. III p. 159); etc. are available.

Therefore on closer scrutiny it is just likely that the non-Maithili elements may further be diminished. It is, therefore, for students of Bengali, Maithili, Assamese and Oriya and Vaisnavism to reconstruct the correct texts of the great writers of whose works we all are proud.

PURUṢOTTAMA GAJAPATI OF ORISSA IN EARLY ASSAMESE LITERATURE

By

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The early Vaishnavite poets of Assam rendered into Assamese poetry two Sanskrit texts namely *Nāma Mālikā* and *Dipikā Chandra*. The authorship of both the original books is ascribed to one Purusottama Gajapati, a Hindu king.

Nāma Mālikā was translated by Madhab Deva (1489-1596), who probably got the original from his *guru* Śankara Deva the founder of Assam Vaishnavism. The Assamese version contains about 607 couplets. The subject is about Vaishṇava cult. The book makes references to about 63 Sanskrit books including the names of *Purāṇas*, *Samhitās* and *Tantras*. The names of *Purāṇas*, *Samhitās* and *Tantras*. The original was probably a compilation. The Assamese version refers :

*Puruṣottama nāme nareśvara Gajapati,
Tāna ajñya pāli dvijagaṇa mahāmati,
Purāṇa bhārata Smṛiti āgamaka cāi,
Nānā grantha Samgraha karila eka thāi,
Krishna nāma mahimā pālanta yatamān,
Likhi āni Sabākb karitā eka thān.
(Nam Mālikā, verse 7)*

The *Santa Nirṇaya*, a biography of Śankara Deva and his disciples, written probably in the latter half of the 17th century, refers to *Nāma Mālikā*. According to *Santa Nirṇaya*, the original was handed to Śankara Deva by Chaitanya Deva, when the former was at Jagannath 'Puri'. *Sat-Sampradāya kathā*, another early biography of Assamese Vaishnavite saints mentions the incident as follows:

*"Ehi Suni Ceilanye bolanta... gajapati rāy Puruṣottama
karā slokan sāt sa slokan nām-mālikā khenār ghasā karibek."*

In *Nāma Mālika*, Madhab Deva refers that he got the book from one Virupākhyā Kaji, the chief minister of Raja Lakṣminarayan of Cooch Behar '1584-1622', and translated it into Assamese at the request of the said minister.

Dipikā Chandra 'effulgent book' is divided into six chapters. The first chapter describes the hell, the second chapter describes the Chandra Bipras and Suryya Bipras ; the third chapter lays down that Daivagyas are equal to Brahmans. The fourth chapter describes the Vaishnavas. The fifth chapter describes the kings, the defender of the faith and the sixth chapter describes the minor chiefs. There is a deliberate attempt on the part of the writer to establish the superiority of Vaishnavism over all other cults and to attack Buddhism (Descriptive catalogue of Assamese manuscripts by Hemachandra Goswami).

The authorship of the Assamese version of *Dipikā Chandra*, is ascribed to Puruṣottama Gajapati. The colophon refers.

*Purusottam mor gajapati nām,
Racilo payār dāki bolā rām rām.*

But as the chronology of Assam kings does not furnish a name like Puruṣottama Gajapati, the Assamese scholars are led to conclude that "the original compilation was made by Puruṣottama Gajapati ; the Assamese translation of it was made by some anonymous writer."

Now, who is this Puruṣottam Gajapati ? Is he the son of Kapilendra of Orissa who succeeded his father in 1470 A.D.? Are there any references in Oriya literature and History about Nām Mālikā and *Dipikā Chandra*? Or any traditions ascribing the authorship of these two books to Puruṣottama Gajapati, the devout worshipper of Jagannatha ?

EUROPEAN PIONEER STUDIES IN SOUTH INDIAN LANGUAGES.

By

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Good pioneer work was done in the field of critical studies in South Indian languages by European missionaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both Catholic and Protestant ; and it was always promptly and willingly helped by Indian Pandit learning and served as the basis of literary and linguistic studies for later writers of the nineteenth and the present centuries. Even about the middle of the sixteenth century, the great St. Francis Xavier had committed to memory Tamil translations of the Creed, Ave Maria, the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue. Robert De Nobili (of the Madura Mission, d. 1667) was the real pioneer of European scholarship in South Indian languages; he combined in himself the sanctity of the *Sanyasi* and the erudition of the Pandit, introduced many Sanskrit terms and expressions into Tamil usage and set the pace for Jesuit writers after him to naturalise in Tamil the Sanskrit superlative particle *Tama*, though the attempt failed to take root. The even more famous Father Constantius Beschi spent the years 1710-47 in the Southern Tamil districts where he acquired "a marvellous knowledge and especially of its classical dialect, as no other European seems to have ever acquired over it or any other Indian language." Beschi's numerous works in Tamil served as the model for later Protestant Missionaries engaged in Tamil studies like Rottler, Caldwell and pope.

A new *Tamil Grammar* by Baltasar Dacosta appeared in 1680; the *Tamil Grammar* of Ziegenbalg of Tranquebar was printed in 1716. Beschi's *Grammar* of the *Common Dialect* of the Tamil language was written in 1728 & a French translation of it in an abridged form was presented by Anquetil Du Perron to the Royal library of Paris, while his *Grammar of High Tamil* was composed in Latin. Two other works of Beschi, the *Tonnul Vilakkam* and the *Clavis* (on the Tamil language) comprehend prosody, rhetoric, composition, orthography and etymology. The latter work has been classed by Julien Vinson among the doubtful works of Beschi. Beschi's *Ṣadur Aharādi* (*Quadruple*

Dictionary), displayed a vast erudition and an astonishing knowledge of the Tamil language and its classics. His *Tamil-Latin Dictionarium* was intended to be supplemented by a *Portuguese-Latin-Tamil Dictionary*. Beschi is credited with the transliteration *rr* for *ṛ* in Tamil and for many other improvements, particularly in the field of a reformation of the Tamil alphabet letters. Caldwell placed him in the very first rank of Tamil poets of the second class and divides the honours of the eighteenth century poetry in Tamil between a Saivite and Beschi, whose classic epic, the *Tembavani*, won for him a conspicuous rank among Dravidian poets.

The Carnatic Mission for the Telugu country started by the Jesuits in 1702 and marked by the presence of eminent scholars like John Calmette, the Protestant Missionaries of Tranquebar like Zeiganbalg, Schulze, Fabricius and Breithaupt should be remembered, not to speak of the famous C.F. Swartz and his contemporaries and colleagues, Gericke, Kohloff and Kiernander, whose writings resulted in the development of a new dialect known as the *Christian Tamil*, which was further enriched in the nineteenth century by Rhenius, the Swiss Missionary by Bower and by the Tinnevely school.

These early missionaries employed the scriptural system of instruction and published manuals and grammars of the vernacular languages, besides translations of the Bible, and they opened not merely western education among the people, but also began an epoch of critical study of the languages.

The interest shown from about the end of the eighteenth century by English servants of the Company who were also good linguistic scholars like F.W.Ellis and A.D.Campbell and by collectors of manuscripts and antiquities like Collin Mackenzie resulted in the publication of a rich number of works relating to Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam either by the College of Fort St. George, started in 1812 and similar in aim to the College of Fort William, or under Government patronage.

It was Mr. F.W. Ellis that first pointed out the abundance in Malayalam of Sanskrit derivations "in a proportion exceeding half, equal perhaps to three-fifths of the whole under the two heads....common to the dialects of South India, *tatsamam*, pure Sanskrit words or *tat-bhavam*, derived from Sanskrit." The *Deśya* (native words) may be divided into pure Tamil and Derivatives from Tamil. C.P. Brown did much for the revival and promotion of Telugu literature and boasted thus : "In 1825 I found Telugu literature dead. In thirty years I raised it to life." Brown criticised the efforts of Taylor the cataloguer of

the Mackenzie Collection as being unsatisfactory, unskilled in chronology and not using the right method and phraseology. It was A.D. Campbell that first pointed out the aradical & intimate connection between Telugu and the other vernaculars of South India. Brown believed that Sanskritic influences on the Dravidian languages should not be exaggerated,. Thus before the Company's rule ended a brighter day dawned for vernacular studies and there had begun an outburst of native authorship which was to be marked in course of time by the development of a critical acumen.

Reeve stressed upon the close affinity existing between Telugu and Canarese. The general difficulties that were surmounted by these early pioneers in some measure were "the rareness of ancient manuscripts, the endless blunders of drivelling and hireling transcribers, the paucity of duplicates for collation and the comparatively very small number of men to be found among the natives, possessing appropriate philological information, soundness of judgement or zeal for literary research and improvement, have occasioned no inconsiderable suspense, annoyance and embarrassment."

IS TELUGU LANGUAGE A FORM OF PAISĀCHĪ?

By

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Is Telugu Language a form of the Paisāchī Prakrit? "So it is" argue some scholars of the Telugu country, who try to trace the development of this language together with other languages of South India to the Aryan Sources. (Vide *History of Telugu Language* by Dr. C. Narayana Rao, published by the Andhra University, 1937, 2 volumes).

Arguments urged:—

1. Sātavāhana Andhras—their connection with Bṛhatkathā in Paisāchī. The Prakrit of their inscriptions found at Amaravati, etc., must have been the language of the people at the time. The language of the present Andhras of the Telugu country is a disintegrated form of it, like any of the modern Aryan vernaculars of the North which developed from older Prakrit through their Apabhramśas.
2. The theory of Dr. Grierson about the migration of the Dardic or Paisāchī speaking people from the North West to the South through the West Coast, stretched further and the circuit completed through the east coast' on the strength of the statements made by the later Prakrit grammarians like Lakshmidhara and Rāmātarka-Vāṅīśa, who included Dravida, Dākṣhiṇātya and Kāñchī Desiya among Paisāchī dialects.
3. Absence of any records in Telugu or in any other South Indian Language before the 5th or the 6th century A.D. is considered as due to non-existence of these languages at that time.
4. Linguistic principles strained to their utmost to derive the sounds, vocabulary and grammar of these languages from Aryan sources and the non-Aryan tendencies found here as parallels to those found in the vernaculars of the North, are all explained away as due to natural disintegration.

The object of this paper is to show that Telugu and other Languages of the south form an independent group by themselves and cannot be traced to Paisāchī or other Aryan sources.

In this connection the development of Prakrits and later vernaculars in relation to the indigenous languages of Indian is discussed. The peculiar characteristics of phonetic tendencies of *Paiśāchī* viz., the change of medials to tenues, of three sibilents to s, of ṇ to n etc : are found in Telugu and Tamil and can be attributed to the speech habits of the Non-Aryan (Dravidian people) who came into contact with the incoming Aryans, even at the North West frontiers of India, and later got mixed up with the lower strata of the Aryan society. The existence of a Dravidian Brauhi language in the North West, and many uncultivated Dravidian tongues of Central India, besides the gradually increasing rate of infiltration of the Non-Aryan Dravidian tendencies, in the various stages of the development of North Indian Languages (Vedic, Prakritic, Apabhramsa and Vernacular) clearly indicate the existence of a Non-Aryan or Dravidian-Nāgasubstratum all through the country. The result of the struggle for dominance between the Aryan and Dravidian Languages in India varied in various parts. In the North-western corner and in the middle country in spite of the overwhelming influence of the Aryan all round, the Dravidian could still maintain its existence and show its native characteristic. In the Northern country or *Aryāvarta* the Dravidian was wiped out of existence, though not before it could exert its influence by way of introducing new tendencies which gave a new colouring to the Aryan and brought about the development later in the form of vernaculars. In the Deccan though the Dravidian Languages, were powerful, the pre-dominance of the Prakrit owing to the Andhra migration and power, centuries before the Christian era' undermined the local languages and blotted out all traces of them for a time. But, after a time, the rivalry among the religious came to their rescue—Jaina to Kannada and Brahmanism to Telugu and gave them scope to raise their head and regain their lost position in the country. While in the South, firmly entrenched against the onslaught of the Aryan and supported by the rulers of the soil, the Dravidian could maintain its independence and importance all through. The Aryan could give to these languages large amount of material, but the manner of expression—the grammatical basis remained the same all through these ages in these languages. So some at least of the peculiar characteristics of *Paiśāchī* are due to Dravidian contract. But, neither Telugu nor any of the South Indian Languages are derived either from *Paiśāchī* or the Inscriptional Prakrit of the Andhras. Though there are no inscriptions in Telugu before the 7th Century or Kannada, traces of them could be found in the Sanskrit or Prakrit inscriptions of the early period. Early Tamil Literature and the grammar

of Tolkappiyanar definitely take us to the pre-Christian era. A comparison of the grammatical features of Tamil as given in Tolkappiyam with those of Telugu and other South Indian Languages on one side and with those of Sanskrit and later vernaculars of the North, on the other clearly show that the linguistic influence of the Dravidians on the Aryan is far greater and closer than that of the Aryan on the Dravidian. Thus the Paisāchī origin of the Telugu or other South Indian Languages along with the theory of the natural disintegration of these languages falls to the ground

WORD STUDY AND CHRONOLOGY IN TAMIL LITERATURE.

By

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The study of words, particularly their grammatical forms, is of the utmost value in settling chronology in the history of Tamil Literature. We may not be able always to obtain historical data which will, beyond all reasonable doubt, fix the date of a particular literary work. In their absence, equally valuable evidence is furnished by the study of word-forms. Only we must be extremely careful in its application. I shall illustrate the foregoing by a few examples.

Let me take the Tamil word for 'Time'. I mean the word 'Poḷutu'. Its pedigree can be traced for a period of about 2000 years and it has given birth to a number of words. But it has persisted all through the centuries and today it lives as much as ever, though there are tendencies which will eventually make it obsolete. It occurs in 'Tol-kāppiyam' III, 1, 4, reputed to be the earliest of the Tamil works now extant. In *Puranānūru*, the earliest of the Sangam Classics, we find this word in st. 8. Within two or three centuries, a phonetic change is observed. In *Kalittokai*, which is usually classed as a Sangam work and which must have been composed towards the end of the Sangam Period—probably about the fourth century—we find a slightly altered form 'poḷtu' st. 4, 82, 93, 94, 108, 117, 143, 145. 'Poḷtu' of old Kannada and 'Pordu' of Telugu are words probably connected with this particular form. Its origin, perhaps, may be due to the stress-shift on the first syllable. The same stress-shift and the consequent vowel-lengthening in a number of similar words are observable. *Viḷutu-Viḷ. Puḷuti-Pūḷti, Paḷutu-Paḷ* are instances in point. *Poḷtu* gained currency in about a century and began to appear more frequently in literature. We meet this form five times in the famous 'Trirukkural' acclaimed to be the Veda of the Tamils, (St. 412, 539, 569, 930, 1229) and three times in *Nānmaṇikkadigai*, one of the *Kiḷkkaṇakku* works (45, 76, 93). A little later, this became so good a norm as to permit increments being added on to it. *Poḷtattu* occurs in *Maṇimākhilai* (IX, 20; XV, 20), one of the twin epics and in *Nānmaṇikkadigai* (St. 93). That the form *Poḷtu* was not the

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result of individual idiosyncrasy or of any metrical exigency or poetic license may be easily seen. It occurred in several authors and in some instances at least, the earlier form *Polūtu* would suit quite as well. But, more than this, the subsequent development of the word proves incontestably that this form is no freak. It is the result of a natural tendency observed in several analogous cases.

I may now advert to the forms which *Polūtu* assumed. It is easy to guess that this form could have been short-lived only. The physiological effort involved in its utterance must have been the main cause. This economy of effort tended in two directions. One is the elision of the liquid trill occurring in the middle and the other is the dropping of the final syllable which perhaps made the middle sound somewhat tolerable. As a result, two forms were developed, *Pōtu* and *Pol*; the latter is found in Malayalam and *Eḷuttaccan*, the famous poet, uses this quite frequently. It must have been a Tamil provincialism which later became the norm in the Malayalam language. Though there is not a single instance where this form occurs in Tamil Literature, we have to assume the existence of such a form in some dialectal variety, for Malayalam words are mosly traceable to such varieties. Some of the later forms (e.g., *Appo*) in Tamil lend support to this assumption.

Potu stands on a different footing. We meet with this word for the first time in hymnal literature. The Saiva saint *Appar*, who is known to have lived during the first quarter of the 7th century, uses this word-form pretty frequently, (e.g. 6,6, 1). *Poygaiyār*, one of the earliest Vaiṣṇava saints (*Iyar*. 1,26) and *Tirumangai Alwār* (7, 2, 8) also use this word-form. In *Mānikkavāsagar's* *Tiruvāsagam* also, the word is found in several places (e.g. *Tiruvempāvai* 2).

The hymnal literature was composed mainly for the benefit of the masses and consequently it employed popular language i.e., word-forms and idioms in use among the common people. Hence, it may be legitimately inferred that this popular form was first used by hymnists before it found favour in the eyes of literary artists. Any form considered to be the result of popular 'corruption' was viewed with extreme disfavour and poets who aimed at classical purity studiously avoided it, lest the standard of literary excellence should fall low. *Potu* also must have had a similar experience. *Neminātam*, a grammar written about the end of the 12th century, says specifically that this word-form, though a corruption of *Polūtu*, is sanctioned by usage. But its vitality was such that it soon overcame

the repugnance of poets and gained entrance into their poems. Muttollāyiram, for instance, has the line 'neḍu viti nerpaṭṭa potu' (Purattirattu, 1525). Tinaimalainurraimpatu, one of the eighteen Kilkkanakku works, has the line 'Kānā-v-eppotume kan'. Even now the word is in current use. Some writers have imagined that this word originally meant 'bud', later assumed the sense of the time when flowers reach that state, and finally came to mean 'time' in general. Some have also fancied that Potu is the correct standard form and that Poḷtu is entirely due to the perversity of poets !

I have been considering till now the forms of Poḷutu as an unrelated word. When it is preceded by the demonstrative or the interrogative particle, the change it undergoes is very great and we hardly recognise it.

1. Appö, ippö; eppö
2. Appo, ippo; eppo
3. Appa, ippa; eppa
4. Appam, ippam; eppam
5. Appavum, ippavum; eppavum.

are the series we meet with in colloquial language. In the first series, the second syllable of Potu is completely absent; in the second, the vowel in the second syllable becomes short; in the third, the vowel short 'o' becomes 'a', in the fourth, this vowel 'a' becomes nasalised and in the last, the connective particle 'um' is added to the third series. All these are very common in modern colloquial Tamil. In popular literature also, the forms of the first series have occurred. In the Ramappayyan Ammanai, a historical ballad of the first half of the seventeenth century, Appo is found in the lines 972 and 986 while ippo is found pretty often (Ll. 81, 119, 143, 711, 1090 etc.). It was about the 16th century that popular literature of this sort began to appear in Tamil and probably the Appo series is not older than the 15th century. Of the others, 'ippavum' of the fifth series is alone found in the formal portions of modern epistles (ippavum ivviḍattil yāvarum chemam).

The various forms of this Tamil word for 'time' may now be set forth as follows:—

Poḷutu,	Pöḷtu,	Pötu
Appö,	Appo,	Appa, Appam, Appavum

I have omitted Pöl, as it is not found in Tamil literature and of the five series, I have given only the word Appö and its forms. Now let us turn to the chronological significance of these forms.

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Polutu is as old as Tolkāppiyam and Purānānūru, and some 2000 years have elapsed since it found a place in literature. It is the only form that is found in Sangam Classics excepting Kalittogai and Paripādal. Pōltu may be about 1600 years old and any work in which this form occurs even once cannot be earlier than A.D. 400, and any work in which this occurs pretty frequently must be at least a century later. The later Sangam works and early Kilkanakku works employ this form. So we may not be wide of the mark, if we assign Kalittogai to the end of the 4th century and Tiukural, to about the end of the fifth century. Manimekhalai is probably still later, for it cites Tiukural in Canto 22 (59-61), and Nānmaṇikkadigai must go along with it.

The form Pōtu may be more definitely dated. The earliest use so far found is in the beginning of the seventh century in Appar's Devāram. Allowing a century by way of precaution, we may say that it began its career in the 6th century and any literary work in which this form occurs cannot be earlier than that. The known dates of Nāḷaḍiar (c.650), of Tirumangaiyālvār (c.850) and of Māṇikkavāsagar (c.850), do not conflict with this. The date of Poygaiyār, who uses this word, must be about the 7th century and he could not have been a Sangam poet, as a reputed scholar fondly imagined. Muttoḷḷāyiram and Tiṇaimālai-nūrraimpatu may be assigned to the middle of the eighth century—about a century later than Appar—for the reasons already stated. It may be noted here that Divākarar (c.800), Pingalar (c.1000) and even Maṇḍalapurushar (c.1600) do not recognise this form in their lexicons, perhaps as being a corruption of Polutu. Probably Divākarar thought that this word-form had not obtained in his time sufficient status to find a place in his lexicon, and the later authors simply followed his lead.

It comes as a surprise that we should meet this word in the edition of such a genuine Sangam poem as Neḍunalvāḍai (1.72). The learned editor, MM. Dr. V. Swaminatha Ayyar supports this reading by a quotation from Ahanānūru (St.264). But the printed text of the latter collection gives 'Polute' instead of 'Pote', which will certainly spoil the rhythm. Hence it is legitimate to hold that the correct reading in Neḍunalvāḍai is Polute and not Pote. Nowhere else in early Sangam literature does this word occur. We may say in conclusion this word occurs in hymnal works such as Devāram and in later Kilkanakku works from about the 7th century onwards.

The Appo series occurs, as we have already pointed out, in popular literature from about the 16th century and seems

likely to be the form which will ultimately supplant the older Appōtu. In modern colloquialism, it is frequently used and in musical compositions it appears to be a favourite.

Another illustration. The ancient forms of the 1st person singular and plural in the nominative case are yān and yām. Modern forms are nān nām. The ancient forms of the second person singular and plural in oblique cases begin with nin and num. These forms are now obsolete and the modern forms begin with un and um. These modern forms of the first and second person are popular modifications that came to be adopted in popular literature in about the 7th century A.D. Hence high literary works (e.g. the twin epics Silappadikāram and Maṇimekhalai) in which these forms occur must be assigned to a date round about that century.

A third illustration. The word 'ānāl' (which means if, 'but') has a peculiar history. It is a contraction of āyin-āl and this form contains two particles, one superimposed on another, but both indicating conditional mood. The form āyin alone is sufficient to express the meaning. The double particles betray its late origin and the further contraction (into ānāl) indicate a still later period of its occurrence. Here again the contraction is on account of popular move and we meet with analogous forms such as 'ānān' in the Devāra hymns of the 7th century. In Tirukkural, this contracted form occurs in verse 53:

illadu en illavaḷ mānpānāl.

The inference is clear ; that this famous work cannot be assigned to a date far earlier than the 7th century. Most probably it is a work of the 5th century.

Direct evidence for fixing the dates of Tamil literary works is often lacking. When available, it serves to check the conclusion arrived at by word-study. Index verborum for the representative works of the different periods in the development of Tamil literature is necessary. Word-study will be a sure guide in understanding the growth of the Tamil language and demarcating the various literary land-marks.

SEMANTICS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TAMIL¹

By

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The Dravidian Vocabulary is rich in terms relating to trees, plants, and flowers. The commonest word for the tree is 'Maram' in Tamil and Malayalam 'Mrānu' in Telugu and 'Mara' in Kannada. Woody plants and shrubs are denoted by the word "Ceti" in Tamil and Malayalam, "Cetu" in Telugu and "Giḍa" in Kannada. The distinction between the terms denoting the tree and the shrub is clearly maintained in all the main Dravidian languages except Telugu. In Telugu not only plants and shrubs but even big trees are indiscriminately called 'Mrānu' and 'Cetu'.

The early Tamil literary usage restricted the term 'Maram' to endogeneous trees, and placed in a different category the palm and other trees having an exogenous toughness of structure. The ancient Tamil grammar, the Tolkāppiyam, draws a clear distinction between the terms denoting different parts of the palm and of the other trees.² In spite of this elaborate definition and circumstantial description popular usage has included the palm in the class of trees. In the language of the common man the palmyra palm is Pania Maram, the Coconut Palm is Tennai Maram, the Date Palm is Icca Maram, the Aricanut Palm is Pākku Maram and so forth.

The bamboo and the rattan are ancient products of Dravidian India and naturally there is quite a large number of terms denoting them. The early Tamil Lexicon contain nearly twen-

¹ It is regretted that it was not possible to supply all diacritical marks in the remaining papers of this section. *Editor.*

² Puṛakkālanave pullena mōlipa
Akakkālanave maramena mōlipa—Tolkapiyam Marapiyal, 85.
Tōṭe maṭale olai enrā
Eṭe itale paḷai enrā
Iṛkke kulaiyena nīrṇdana pīravum
Pulloḍu varumenac collinar pulavor—Ibid. 86.
Ilaye ṭalire mūṛiye tōḍe
Cinaiyē kulaiyē pūve arumbe
Nanai yulluṛutta inaiyana ellām
Maranoḍu varum kiḷavi enba—Ibid. 87.

ty indigenous terms for the bamboo.¹ Some of them are Kaḷai and Muḷai, Amai and Ari Véy and Varai, Vélam and Kāmbu. The distinction between the bamboo and the rattan has been generally but not scrupulously maintained in the literary usage.

The Sanskrit word Vétra which signifies rattan has been adopted in the Tamil vocabulary in two forms Vétṭiram and Vetir. The latter form has corresponding cognates in most of the other Dravidian languages. Veduru in Telugu, Biduru in Kannada, Bedru in Tulu are considered to be *tadbhava* forms of the Sanskrit Vetra.² But these terms denote the bamboo and not the rattan. In Tamil Vetir is bamboo and Vétṭiram is rattan.

The origin of the word Bamboo is still a matter of considerable speculation. "This word, one of the commonest in Anglo-Indian daily use, and thoroughly naturalised in English, is of exceedingly obscure origin" says Hobson-Jobson.

The authors of the manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency are inclined to treat it as an onomatopaeic term.³ Some linguists trace the word to the languages of Sumatra and Java in which bambu denotes the bamboo. In attempting to discover the origin of this word, it must be remembered that "the term bamboo came in habitually applied in England to a kind of walking stick which is formed not from any bamboo but from a species of rattan." The common Dravidian words for rattan are, Pirambu, in Tamil, Perambu in Malayalam, Premu and Pému in Telugu and Bambu in Kannada. In the Kannada word the radical consonant of the root has been assimilated and the initial vowel consonant sonantised. The antiquity of the word Piranbu in Tamil is attested by the ancient lexicons.⁴

¹ Vetirum voyum viṇḍum viṇḍalum
Panaiyum neḍilum varaiyum ariyum
Taṭṭaiyum tikiriyum taḍamam amaiyum
Viralum kaḷaiyum tūmbum vélamum
Kāmbum kiḷaiyum kicakamum veṇum
Origalum muḷaiyum muḍangalum cantiyum
Mūṅgiliv peyar muntūlum ākum—
Pinkala Nikaṇṭū, Marapseyar 110.

² Kittel in his Kannada Dictionary derives the word from the root bidur which means scatter; but the Telugu Lixicon takes it to be a Sanskrit derivative.

³ "Bamboo (bambu, Hind; bombu, Can)—Onomatopaeic from the crackling and explosions when they burn"—p. 69.

⁴ Cāti, vettiram, cūral pirambi—Pingalam, mara, 235.

In the Tamil country Pirambu 'rattan' is used for various purposes. The body of country carts and coaches are made of this material, and the incumbustible mat, made out of it, known as Pirappam Pāy, is used for thatching roofs of houses. It is possible that this useful material was exported to Sumatra, Java and other islands, where the name pirambu was corrupted bambu. Competent authorities have pointed out that the word bambu is current only on the West Coast of Sumatra and certain parts of Java. The standard word for bamboo in the Malay language is not bambu but Buluh. There is evidence of the familiarity of the word bambu among the Portugese before the end of the sixteenth century. It is probable that the Dravidian word in its Kannada form passed into English through the Portugese and was applied in the first instance to rattan and later begame the name for the bamboo.

The Dravidian Languages are rich in terms denoting the flower. The popular word for the blossom is Pu in Tamil, Malayalam, Tulu and Kannada and Puvu in Telugu. The bud is Mokku in Tamil, Mogga in Telugu and Moggu in Kannada. The early stages of the bud are denoted by several words in Tamil. Arumbu is the name given to the first stage. The literary terms Annai and Cinai also probably denote this stage. The next stage is indicated by the words, Mukai and Moṭṭu which are variants of Mokku common to most of the Dravidian Languages. A fully developed bud at the point of unfolding its petals is known as Potu. And a full blown flower is Malar or Alar. Of these stages three are mentioned in a couplet of Tirukural.

“Kālai arumbi pakal ellām potāki
Mālai malarum innöy”

In these lines love-sickness is likened to a flower. It buds in the morning, goes on developing all day long and stands full blown at even tide. The words Arumbu, Pötu and Malar used in this couplet indicate three distinct stages in the development of the flower. A scientific study of the various words used in the South Indian languages for plants and flowers is of inestimable value to the student of Dravidian Semantics.

¹ It is possible that the Malay word buluh is a corruption of the word pul or pullu, which denotes the bamboo in Tamil. The flute made of bamboo is popularly known in the Tamil country as pullāṅḡal.

THE DRAVIDIAN NEUTER PLURAL

By

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Dr. Caldwell said, "There are two neuter pluralising particles used by the Dravidian languages:—(1) the Neuter plural suffix *gal*, with its varieties and (2) the neuter plural suffix in 'a'. So far as this statement is concerned he is perfectly right.

But when he put forth the view that 'v' was not a sign of plurality, he was making a disputable statement. He has himself come to the conclusion that it is in 'd' of such words as 'adu' and 'idu' (that, and this) of Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam and 'adi' and 'idi' of Telugu that the idea of singularity resides. It is natural therefore to expect 'v' occurring in its stead in the plural words to indicate plurality. Dr. Caldwell, however, rejected the view that 'v' was indicative of neuter plurality, because he thought that 'av' and 'iv' or their near equivalents were occurring only in Gond and Telugu in the sense of 'those things' and 'these things'. He said¹, "If Telugu and Gond were the only extant dialects of the Dravidian family, we should naturally conclude that as 'd' is the sign of the neuter singular, so 'v' is the sign of the neuter plural. When the other extant dialects, however (Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada) are examined, we perceive that this 'v' is not a sign of plurality".

This does not appear to be correct. In fact, an examination of the other extant dialects, especially Tamil, shows that this 'v' is a sign of plurality. Tolkappiyam, the ancient extant Tamil Grammar, the age of which may be modestly estimated to be as early as the 4th century B.C., in one of its rules in the Chapter on Orthography speaks² of four words ending in 'v'. The rule says that 'v' is the terminal letter of four words in Tamil. The commentators have given the instances of *av*, *iv*, *uv* and *tev*; these correspond respectively to those things, these things, the intermediate things and enmities. The meaning

¹ Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, p. 244.

² Ibid. p. 250.

³ "Vakarak kilavi nāṇ molī irratu"—
Tolkāppiyam. Eluthu. S. 81.

of the last word 'tev' has been forgotten, and so it is being used in the sense of 'enmity' simply. That the other three words have a plural significance can be borne out by illustrations gathered from ancient classical poems. In a poem given by Kaduvaṇ Ḥaveyinaṇār in Paripāḍal, the age of which is not later than the 2nd century A.D., we find these three words occurring in the sense of the neuter plural.¹ Kīrantaiyār, an author of almost the same age, has used 'av' and 'iv' as remote neuter plural and intermediate neuter plural respectively.² Auvaiyār I, a poetess of the same age, in one of her poems found in the collection called Puṇānūru, has used 'iv' and 'av' in this sense.³

In the face of this usage it is impossible to maintain that 'v' was not indicative of plurality. The fact that by 'tev' we mean today enmity and not enmities need not deter us from holding that 'v' signified the plural ideas. Originally, it should have expressed the idea of the plural, as a collective noun, meaning enemies or enmity. It should have passed on to the stage when it expressed a group of enemies before it began to express, as it does today, the idea of the singular too. Thus we see that the rule in Tolkāppiyam contemplates the usage of four words ending in 'v' as plurals. Tev, also, originally was a neuter noun.

Further, there seems to have been a corresponding usage of 'v' in the pronominal termination of verbs of the neuter plural class. It is to this that Tolkāppiyar seems to have alluded in one of his rules in the Chapter on Etymology.⁴ But wrong instances have been given by commentators; *Unkuva*, *tiṇkuva*. In these instances, the final 'a' is indicative of the neuter plural and 'v' is only an intervocalic consonant. What the commentators should have done is to furnish us with illustrations where in the final letter is 'v'. Probably by their time, i.e., between the 10th and 13th centuries A.D., these usages had gone out of vogue. Therefore they were not able to give the proper examples. If one, however, takes pains and rummages the ancient Tamil classics, one will be able to find instances therefor.

¹ Ivvum Uvvum avvum piṇavum
Emam āṇṭa niṇ piṇṭu
Meval Cāṇṇa ellam. (St. 4, 11. 33-35).

² Avvum piṇavum ottanai uvvum
Evvayi noyūm niye (St. 2, 11. 58-59).

³ Ivve, pili aṇṭu etc. (Puṇam. St. 95).
Avve, pakaiṇvark-kutti etc. (ibid.)

⁴ A, Ā veṇa varūm iṇṭi
Appāṇ mūṇṇe palavaṇi colle (Col. 9)

One such instance is available in the text of a poem in *Puranānūru*. 'Ivve' *pīli anintu...viya nakaravve*. ('Iv + é becomes by rule *ivvé*; similarly *nakarav* + é may become *nakaravvé*. *Nakarav* means "things belonging to Nagar or City". But the traditional way of looking at this is different. 'Nakara' in 'Nakaravvé' would be taken to be a combination of *Nakar* (city) and 'a' the neuter plural suffix. On the other hand, the word lends itself to be split as 'Nakar' and 'av' too. According to the traditional interpretation, é is the element for emphasis, 'v' is an intervocalic and the other 'v' is a redundancy permissible in poetry. But to me it appears that because we have not been accustomed to finding pronominal terminations of 'v' in modern times, we fall into the error of regarding the 'a' as the neuter plural verbal inflexion. The line I have quoted above from *Puranānūru*, a work of great antiquity (1st or 2nd century A.D.), ought to show that the rule in *Tolkāppiyam* on the subject contemplates the usage of 'v' as a neuter plural termination of verbs also. If we had other great works of that period completely, we should have been able to collect more instances of this kind. Dr. Caldwell himself said¹ that it is in the poetry and in the speech of the peasantry that the ancient condition of the language is best studied. In the light of this remark, *Puranānūru* may be taken to throw a flood of light on the condition of the speech of those ancient days, and the inference is irresistible that 'v' was employed as a neuter plural suffix.

There is a beautiful regularity with which the pronominal sign of the third person is kept both in the nominatives and in the verbs in Tamil. For instance, corresponding to 'an', the masculine singular suffix in '*avan*' (the remote demonstrative masculine singular pronoun), there is 'an' in *vantaṇan* (=he came) at the final part. Similarly the feminine singular, 'aḷ', the epicene plural 'ar' and the neuter singular 'tu' are all found in the nominative forms *aval*, *avar* and *atu* as also in the verb finite forms *vantaṇal*, *vantaṇar* and *vantatu*. In '*vantaṇa*' (=those things came), the neuter plural verb, there is 'a', the plural suffix, which is found in Tamil nouns such as *pala*, *cila*, *piṇa* etc. and in Malayalam demonstratives *ava*, *iva* etc. The Tamil neuter demonstrative plural '*avai*' and '*ivai*', however, have slightly diverged from the old form, while Malayalam has kept it intact. In line with this regular process one should expect 'v' to occur as the suffix both in the nominal and verbal forms of the neuter plural, if 'v' is a plural suffix at all. This expectation is fulfilled in a line quoted from *Puranānūru*. *Ivve*

¹ *Comparative Grammar*, p. 45.

viyanakaravve. Thus we find that through 'v' as a plural suffix in verbs has fallen into desuetude, it existed at one stage in the history of the Tamil language.

Even if the occurrence of 'v' as a plural neuter sign of the verb finite is doubtful, its occurrence in the nominal forms is quite certain, as evidenced by the passages quoted from *Paripāḍal* and *Puṇanāṇūru*, which have *av*, *iv* and *uv* as neuter plurals of the remote, proximate and intermediate demonstratives. These crude forms are found in Gond, one of the uncultivated dialects of the Dravidian group, as 'av' and 'iv', meaning those things and these things. As Gond is a language spoken in an isolated part of the country (in the hilly and jungly tracts in Central India) far removed from foreign contact, it is natural to think that its usage is not a borrowed one. If its usage is not borrowed and if its usage is in accord with the usage in ancient Tamil classics, it could be surmised that that usage is purely Dravidian. Telgu 'avi' and 'ivi', Kannada 'avu' and 'ivu', Malayalam 'ava' and 'iva' and modern Tamil 'avai' and 'ivai' do all possess in common 'v', the indubitable sign of neuter plurality. Neither the initial vowel nor the final vowel in these words can be regarded as expressing the idea of number, for the former expresses the kind of demonstrative (whether remote, proximate or intermediate) and the latter, being a mutable vowel in each dialect, has nothing to contribute to the semantic value but is only an element of euphonisation. Even as 't' occurring in the medial part of the singular neuter demonstratives such as 'atu' and 'itu' in Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada and 'ati' and 'iti' in Telugu is a sign of singularity, as is taken by Dr. Caldwell,¹ 'v' occurring in the medial part of words such as *avi*, *avu*, *ivi*, *ivu* etc. undoubtedly constitutes the sign of the neuter plural. Thus it is evident that Dr. Caldwell's view on the subject needs correction. I am sure that had he any opportunity to consult *Tolkāppiyam*, *Puṇanāṇūru* and *Paripāḍal* he would have quite willingly accepted the view that 'v' was as much a neuter plural suffix in the Dravidian languages as 'a'.

¹ *Comparative Grammar*, p. 290.

PLURAL SUFFIXES IN THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES.

By

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What is the history of pluralisation in the Dravidian languages? In these ancient languages, today, we find innumerable pluralising particles which on careful observation tend to show a unity in diversity and thereby throw some light on the grammatical point of the Primitive Dravidian tongue.

To many it may sound strange when we state that at one stage in the history of the Dravidian languages,—in those bygone ages—there did not exist in the language any pluralising suffix. To some extent, even as in Malayalam of today where the gender of the verb is being understood by the context and not by the verbal terminations, so in the primitive Dravidian languages, number was being understood by the context. This point has been hinted by the eminent philologist Dr. Caldwell who says, "The poets and the peasants, the most faithful guardians of antique form of speech, rarely pluralise the neuter and are fond of using the singular noun in an indefinite singular-plural sense, without specification of number, except in so far as it is expressed by the context. Hence they will rather say "nālu māḍu meygiredu" (literally, four ox is feeding) than "nālu māḍugaḷ meygindrāna" (four oxen are feeding) which would sound stiff and pedantic. Dr. Caldwell has pointed out this as an example to show that they rarely pluralise the neuter. What Dr. Caldwell says regarding neuter plurals in Tamil holds good in the case of other Dravidian Languages. But we can go a step further and quoting from Tulu, one of the ancient families of languages in the Dravidian group, state that pluralising was unknown even with the masculine-feminine or high caste nouns. Therein it is more idiomatic to say "patt ālu benpundu" (literally ten person is working) than to say "patt ālu (ku) lu benper (ten persons are working). It is quite probable that the other languages of the family, having progressed, invented those subtle distinctions of number etc., and dropped out of use the primitive way, while Tulu, the uncultivated language of the group has retained the old usages too. Hence, we may go further than Caldwell and say that the number of all Dravidian nouns whether high-caste or caste-less was originally indefinite. The singular, the primitive condition of every noun, was then the only number which was or could be recognised by nominal or verbal inflexion and plurality was left to be inferred by the context.

So, with this evidence before us, we may safely conclude with what Dr. Caldwell hinted that as civilisation made progress, the plural made its appearance and effected a permanent settlement in the department of high caste or masculine-feminine nouns. While the number of casteless or neuter nouns, whether suffixes of plurality were used or not, still remained generally unrecognised by the verb in the Dravidian languages.

The various plural suffixes in the Dravidian Languages

Let us take into consideration the multifarious plural suffixes in some of the important Dravidian languages and try to trace their historical growth and ramifications:—

Pluralising suffixes.	Kannada	Tamil	Malayalam	Telugu	Tulu
'm'	nām (we) nīm (you, pl.)	yām, nām, nīr, nivir, nīyir.	ñāññal nam niññal nom	mému mīru	namo ir
'ar'	avar (they) arasar (kings) bandar (have come)	.. avar	avar arasar	vāru rājulu vaccinar	.....
'ar'	bandār (Inscriptions)	vandār	vannu	...	...
'mar'	...	Pillai-mar	Arasan-mar	...	...
'mār'	...	Pillai-mār (Pillais)	Arasan-mār (Moplahs)	..	...
'ör'	Kottör (Donors) (Inscriptions)	Koduttor	Koduttor	..	..
'ir'	Pendir (wives)	Pendir	vannir	vacciri (have come)	..
'vir'	Tayvir (mothers)	Taymir	..	..	..
'dir'	Appandir (fathers)	Ayyandir	..	..	..
'kal'	Tandegal (fathers)	Tandegal	Narigaḷ	purushaḷu	Akuḷu (they)
'lu'	Bandalo (They came)	..	..	purushalu	Ponnulu (ladies)
'ko'	Makko (Children)	..	..	..	..
	Aḷugo (servants)				
'a'	avu (they-neuter)	avai (they-neuter)	ava (they)	avi (they)	avu (it & they)
'avu'	Piriyavu (big ones)				

From the foregoing tables we see that when reduced to the simplest, there are pluralising suffixes (1) 'm', (2) 'ar', with all its ramifications, (3) 'kaḷ', with its superb guises and (4) 'a' or 'avu'. Today it is rather hard to trace any semblance among these four entities and state at what period in the history of the Dravidian languages these developments took place.

The very ancient suffix 'm' is used in almost all the Dravidian languages for pluralising the first and the second personal pronouns. However, in the case of Tamil, Telugu and Tuḷu, second person plural, 'nīr', and 'īr' are used. As is natural, this must have been in vogue long before the third personal pronouns began to be pluralised and the gender idea got settled.

Between 'ar' and 'kaḷ' it is extremely difficult to choose which of the two is more ancient. In spite of the earliest grammarian of Tamil, Tolkappiyar, having mentioned 'kaḷ' as the plural suffix confined to neuter nouns, we have early instances in inscriptions, when 'kaḷ' was used as an epicene plural suffix and it is quite probable that long before the gender idea got settled on the people, if at all there was a plural number idea, it may not be wrong to assume that at some time, in the dim beginnings of our languages, one common particle was being used, if at an earlier time no such distinction was made and the number was indefinite.

I am inclined to think that what has been dubbed as the neuter plural suffix, namely, 'kaḷ', or 'a' or 'avu' must be primitive and the common suffix for the following reasons :

1. Though 'ar' may be restricted to the epicene group, 'kaḷ' is used for all the neuter as well as many a high caste nouns which fact proves the universal applicability and greater hold over the language than 'ar' which must be a later importation or derivation to fulfil a particular need. In fact 'kaḷ' may be used to pluralise all nouns.
2. Telugu, one of the important members of the Dravidian group, employs 'lu', a guise of 'kaḷ' for epicene plurals.
3. In Malayalam, the plural form of the second person is *ninnaḷ* and there is no other form for the same. Since first and second person plurals must be more ancient and Malayalam has retained many primitive forms of speech, 'kaḷ' may be a high class plural suffix.
4. In some of the pluralised forms of the high-caste nouns like 'makkaḷ', 'pengaḷ', 'āṇulu', 'gurugaḷ', 'aḍigaḷ', the suffix 'ar' is almost unknown.)

The hold of 'kal' over the language must have been so great that due to sheer force of habit for ages people must have felt that the pluralising was incomplete—a kind of void—without the affixation of 'kal' which alone they thought was the real pluralising particle. Hence, the double plurals and honorific plurals, 'dévarkal', 'avergal', 'avvāl', etc.

5. In some of the old dialects which can be expected to retain several of the old construction of grammar, we come across the epicene plurals of the form 'ālugo', 'ācārigo', 'Bhattakko' (retaining only the 'k' portion of 'kal'). The first and second person plurals are 'engo' and 'ningo'.

6. In some of the dialects the epicene plural verb is 'bandalo' 'uṇḍalo', 'lo' is the plural suffix, 'k' having been dropped.

7. In some of the ancient dialects, 'ava' or 'avu' is used for the epicene third personal pronoun in the place of 'avar' with the least feeling of indecency or inconvenience. Āvu ibbar battavu, (They two persons are coming).

Thus, there must have been a time in the history of the language, when 'avu', the neuter plural suffix, was used for the epicene plurals and their practice is retained to this day in some of the dialects.

As civilisation advanced, and the gender idea got infixed 'ar' must have forced itself on the high-caste nouns and effected a permanent settlement therein. 'Ar' with its multifarious alternative forms such as 'ar', 'ir', 'dir', 'vir', 'bar', 'ir', 'or', etc., has been able to preserve its high caste in not allowing itself to be appended to neuter nouns. But it is unfortunate to note that 'ar' has not been successful in keeping out 'kal' and its retinue out of bounds. There must have been a confusion regarding the use of these suffixes. Grammarians, like the author of Tolkappiyam, must have felt the necessity for drawing a line between the pluralising suffixes of the high-caste and neuter nouns and gave the verdict that 'kal' be confined to neuter plurals, and 'ar' forms to the high-caste plurals. But no grammarian's legislation could check the influence of the old 'kal'. We find 'ar' forms employed for pluralising the epicene in all the early literatures and inscriptions and it is interesting to note that 'r' is an essential particle of the pluralising suffix. Doctor Caldwell is of opinion that 'r' was always preceded by a vowel and due to vowel harmony in particular situations and the genius of each dialect, it assumed these various forms, but always retained the 'r'.

In certain cases 'a' + 'ar' > 'avar' and in plurals like 'bandavar' the 'va' is dropped and there was an elongation resulting in 'bandör' ('or' suffix). Perhaps during the time of Kesiraja 'or' suffix fell into disuse. The 'ar' and 'ir' suffix in combination earned augments 'b', 'v', 'ar', ('enbar', 'tayvir', 'enmar') which later on came to be separated and used independently as plural particles such as 'dir', 'vir', 'bar', 'mar', 'mar', etc.

Perhaps in the universal suffix 'kal', 'k' may be an augment particle in the case of certain words, which later on became part and parcel of the suffix in separation.

Knowing that 'l' and 'r' are produced almost at the same place (murfhanya) and examples are not wanting where words with 'l' 'r' (K, T, Te, tili to know is 'teri' in Tulu), shall we may say that at an early stage, when epicene plural came to be separated 'ar' branched off from 'kal'?

TECHNICAL SCIENCES SECTION

THE EVOLUTION OF FINGER TECHNIQUE IN INDIAN INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

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Instrumental music has played a prominent part in the evolution of the music of both the Orient and the Occident. Man became early conscious of the fundamental principles of musical science, through musical instruments. The monophonus voice was not of much help to him in practically working out and understanding the various musical laws and phenomena. The ancient harp helped the scholars to comprehend the nature of consonant and dissonant intervals, the frequency ratios of notes, the harmonic series and the method of deriving modes by the process of modal shift of tonic.

Except the key-board types, all other types of instruments are fully represented in India. The Indian musician had no use for the key-board type of instrument, since it gave only notes of fixed pitch and had no provision for the playing of the delicate quarter-tones and the subtle graces. It would indeed have been a surprise to students of comparative musicology, if the key-board type of instrument had developed in India.

India is perhaps the earliest country in the history of world culture to realise the value of absolute music. The association of musical instruments with Divine Beings and Divine minstrels can be cited in proof of this statement. Instrumental music was held in great esteem from early times. Instrumental music was an indispensable accompaniment in recitals of Vocal music. In the days when the tambura had not come into vogue and such instruments as the chromatic pitch-pipe and tuning forks did not exist and in the days when compositions were not sung to an adhara shadja as is done now the value of instrumental accompaniment is obvious. The instruments not only gave the key-note but also furnished the musical accompaniment. Vocal music and Instrumental music have had a healthy reaction on each other from early times. The person with the gifted voice easily dominated the instrumentalist in early times. The latter tried to reproduce on his instrument all the nuances of the song and these conscious efforts at playing an embellished and polished music laid the

foundations for the development of an elaborate finger technique. plectral technique, blowing technique and striking technique. The coming into existence of the metallic strings and frets opened up fresh possibilities and the instrumentalist was not slow in making full use of the new facilities. With the extended compass and the variety and richness of tone-colour, at his disposal he in his turn began to occupy an enviable position. The singers soon perceived the beauties of Vina Music, and began to imitate the same. Thus the Gayaka style and the Vainika style reacted on each other and with very good results.

The genius of India is fully reflected in the complex finger technique seen in her instrumental music. This technique is one of gradual growth and represents the accumulated wisdom of the instrumentalists of the past. Skill in finger technique is acquired after many years of practice. The play of those who have not acquired a command over finger technique will not be delightful. Their performances will be childlike in character. To perform classical compositions accurately one needs a high degree of proficiency in finger technique. To perform *manodharma sangita*, one needs even a higher degree of proficiency in finger technique.

The subject of finger technique admits of a four-fold treatment : the technique relating to (1) *tata vādyas* (chordophones) (2) *sushira vādyas* (aerophones) (3) *Avanaddha vādyas* (membranophones) and (4) *Ghana vādyas* (Autophones). The unequal lengths of the fingers seem to be designed by Nature for developing an intelligent technique, which will be of help in playing in a graceful, neat and good style. Finger technique is the technique involved in applying the fingers to the strings, the holes and the drum-head. There are special exercises to give strength to the fingers. Finger technique has kept pace with the developments in music century after century. Daring experiments in fingering were attempted by enterprising instrumentalists from time to time. These experiments involved some years of practice and some at stages, these pioneers gave up their attempts as hope less. The *jāru* style of Violin play now in vogue in South India is an instance in point. When new instruments were invented or when improved patterns of instruments came into existence, instrumentalists worked at these new instruments and evolved the most satisfactory finger technique.

Excepting the *mridanga*, *tablā* and *pakhāwaj* the remaining percussive instruments do not admit of an elaborate finger

technique. These three instruments provide a delightful cross rhythmical accompaniment and contribute to the excellence of an Indian concert. The rhythmical harmony provided by them is fascinating. Some rhythmical syllables are played by damping fractional areas of the drum-head. with the hand. The late mridangam Narayanasami Appa was so alive to the responsible character of fingers, that he would not even grasp the door lintel of a Railway carriage. He invariably asked one of his disciples to open the carriage door for him. The ghaṭa an old instrument is even now used in South Indian concerts, as an upa tāla vādyā (secondary rhythmic accompaniment). The hand, the wrist, finger tips and a finger nails are used in playing this instrument. From its very nature, the ghana vādyas do not admit of any finger technique. The metallic plates or discs are merely struck and their rhythmical accompaniment is on the same footing as the accompaniment provided by the percussion instruments in European orchestras.

Wind Instruments like the flute and the nagasvaram have evolved an elaborate finger technique. The latter instrument is not more than 700 years old. In the nagasvaram semitones are produced by adjustments in the strength of blowing and not by partially opening the finger holes as in the flute. The fingering system of the flute of the ancient period is different from that of the modern Period. Terms like Kam-pita, Valita, Mukta, Ardhamukta and Nipidita are significant in relation to the finger technique of the flute. Single tongueing was in vogue from ancient times. Double tongueing triple tongueing, quadruple tongueing, finger strokes and cross fingering are later developments. The technique of flute play made rapid strides, when it attained the status of a Primary instrument. In wind instruments the blowing technique is an important factor in the production of the nuances of music.

The finger technique of the Viṇā has a long history. In ancient times the Viṇā was of the harp type. A series of strings were stretched over an open frame and were set in vibration by the fingers. The strings were stretched vertically between the soundboard and the arm or neck. Each string produced only one note. The strings were tuned to notes of absolute piston and to the fundamental scale. We come across the sapta-tantri Viṇā in the story of Guttala the musician in one of the Buddhist Jataka legends. The Viṇā with a finger board (without frets) with one or two strings is seen in early sculptures and in the Ajanta frescoes. Whereas the former harp-type of vina was held vertical and played, the latter

was held in an oblique posture and played. There were limitations for both these types of instruments. The longer strings of the harp-vina when struck gave a containing note and such modern devices as the damper of the piano were unknown in those days. This continued vibration of the longer guts was a disturbing factor in the proper enjoyment of music. The Silappadikaram refers to the four defects (Sempakai, Arppu, Adirvu, Kudam) which every Yal player should overcome. The same work also refers to terms like Vartial, Vadittal, Undal, Urakdal, Uruttudal and Teruttudal significantly explanatory of the plectral technique and tuning technique.

The strings of the svaramandala, another ancient instrument were merely struck and played and so the question of finger technique does not arise in the case of this instrument. The instrument was kept on the floor and was performed on open strings. The invention of frets constitutes an important landmark in the evolution of the Vīṇā. The number of Strings was reduced and the playing of such gamakas as Kampita, linea, tiripa, vali, tribhinna Kurula, āhata and ullasita and purva dhal and utara dhal become an easy task. The plectral technique also developed side by side with the left hand technique. Such terms as savra mīṭṭu, sāhitya mīṭṭu, laya mīṭṭu, jodu mīṭṭu, Kattiri mīṭṭu, sruti mīṭṭu and pattu mīṭṭu are significant. The Vīṇu is held in both the vertical and horizontal postures and played. In the former case, the dandi of the instrument is relatively of a shorter length and the performing in the higher octaves on all the four strings is also relatively easier. On the Vina and the gotuvadham one can play simultaneously on two octaves. This was not possible on the ancient harp-like vina. Compositions like the Thāya vina students to acquire proficiency in *raṭṭai mīṭṭu*. Composers who were also vainikas wrote special types of compositions which helped players of Vina to improve the finger technique of the left hand and the plectral technique of the right hand.

The European instrument Violin has been successfully adapted in the south. The earlier pidivadyam naturally gave way to the later pleasing jaru vadyam. The new style of bow technique used for playing tanas is delightful. In some instruments of the North, the finger nails of the left hand glide over or along the slide of the playing strings.

IRANIAN SECTION

STEHKPAESANGHA

By

PROF. D. D. KAPADIA, M.A., POONA

During the course of my studies of the Avesta language, I was particularly struck by the apparent absence of a specific word or words in the extant Avesta texts for *Sudreh*, the sacred shirt of the Zoroastrians. That the custom of putting on the *Sudreh* with *Kusti* (sacred girdle) on it, was from very old times prevalent amongst the *Mazdayasnans* (i.e. those believing in one true and living God), and was in vogue even before the advent of Holy Prophet Zoroaster, is obvious from Yasna IX 26, where it is distinctly mentioned that Prophet HAOMA (a contemporary of king Kai-Kaus and king Kai-Khusru of Kiyanian Dynasty of Iranian monarchs) was given the gifts of *Sudreh* and *Kusti* by Almighty God ; (vide note on p. 41 of Dr. Unvala's *Hom Yasht*). This custom seems to have been acknowledged and embodied by Zarathushtra in his Religion (*Dādīstān*, Pur. XXXVIII, 19) and is prevalent upto this day amongst the followers of Zarathushtra, both in Iran and India. According to the author of *Dādīstān-i-Dīnik*, it was king Jamshed who first introduced this custom of *Sūdreh-Kūsti* (Pur. XXXVIII 19).

In Avesta, there is a distinct word for *Kusti* (sacred girdle) viz. *aiwyānghana* found scattered in several places in the texts; also a verb for tying on the sacred *Kusti* *aiwi-yāungh* to put on the *Kusti*, and the word *aiwyasta*, one who has been invested with *Sūdreh-Kūsti*, or more generally one who has gone through a complete course of religious instructions. How then is it possible that there should not be a word for such an important adjunct as *Sūdreh* in the extant Avesta texts ? I thus became curious to solve that riddle.

In Pahlavi however there is no lack of equivalent words for *Sūdreh*, of which the most common is *Shavik*; also there is the word or *tehkuk* ?, also *azir-aiwyagan* or *azirkustik*; also *nimak*, *vastrag-i-andartum*, *Vahuman vastrag* etc.

Ervad B.N. Dhabar, in Hormazdyār Frāmarz Rivāyet, pp. 23-32, has given exhaustive references about *Sūdreh* and *Kusti* occurring in Pahlavi literature, especially those in *Shāyast-né-Shāyast*, *Dādīstān-i-Dīnik*, *Nirangistān*, *Vendidād* etc.

The Avesta word used generally for Sūdreh is *vastra* which ordinarily means *clothing*, and it seems to have been used as an equivalent of Sūdreh, but no specific word is in use as the Avesta equivalent for Sūdreh.

Whilst in the midst of this perplexity about the absence of an Avesta equivalent for Sūdreh, I happened to go through *Vachar-Kard-i-Dīnik*, a Pahlavi book edited by late Dasturji Saheb Peshotanji Byramji Sanjana in 1848, and I was particularly struck by two passages, which are presumed to be extracts from *Baghn Yasht* and *Niyādūm Nask*, wherein there are clearly words alluding to Sūdreh. These passages are also quoted by Dr. West, *Sacred Books of the East* vol. XXXVII pp. 471, 474 and 475.

The first of these passages occurs on p. 160, as under :—
*Avesta*¹—‘Yāt aété yo Mazdayasno aperenāyūko avi hé hapta saredha frajasāiti stehrpaesangho aiwyāunghono paitish hé maidhyāi būjyamanō avi hé nara paschaiti nemanghenti.’

Pahlavi—‘ke az öisān mazdyastān apūrnāy-i awar ān (o pa dāt-i) haft sāl-i frāz-raset,---aiwyānghān pa ān miyān banded awār an mard pas niyāyeshn-aumand hast.’

Trans.—(It is revealed from the Avesta Text of the *Baghn Yasht* that) When of those Mazdayasnas, a youth reaches the age of seven years, (he ties “*stehrpaesangha*” and “*kusti*” on his loins, (and) upon that a man thereafter is fit to offer his prayers.

The word *stehrpaesangha*, in this para is obviously used for *Sūdreh*, though in the Pahlavi translation, unfortunately the word seems to have been inadvertently dropped. Dr. West also has omitted to give the meaning of the word “*stehrpaesangha*” perhaps aware of the fact that the word is dropped in Pahlavi rendering. The meaning of this word which is so far generally accepted is, adorned with stars, ‘star-spangled’ or ‘star-striped.’ But I submit that to take it here as qualifying the noun *aiwyānghana*, and translate it as “star-spangled *kusti*” is rather unsound. But on the contrary to take them as separate nouns and translate them as “*Sūdreh*” and “*kusti*” is much more reasonable.

A “*sūdreh*” can be a decorated one, as we have in vogue an embroidered *Sūdreh*, but no body has dreamt of an ornamented “*Kusti*”. Thus the presumption is more to regard “*stehrpaesangha*” as “*Sūdreh*,” which can be an embroidered one.

¹ Owing to typographical difficulties long vowels are denoted in this paper in three different ways, as shown ī ē and ü.

The second of these passages which occurs on pp. 180-181 of the same book is more explicit and comprehensive and occurs as under—

....aévak in kû stārāhrpaesanghām awā garāpān khūp awāyet che andar Niyādūm goft estet—

Avesta—Āat aokhta Ahurō Mazdéo yat āeté yō mazdayasna aétém srîrem vastrem stehrpaesanghem hvām tanūm badha paoirim vanghanemcha hadha varano paitanemcha, paschaiti aiwyāunghānō ava hé maidhyānem būjayamnō.

Aétem zisrîrem vastrem mainyutāshtem hacha mainyavanām dāmanām avi me fradadhāt Ahurō Mazdāo ashava. Yatha hé varanō paitanem asti mānāyēn hvare-khshaétahé hadha hé vastranām yaozdāthranām frayaza vā nizbaya vā Ahurāi Mazdāi Ameshanām spentanām Spitama Zarathushtra.

Translation—One thing is that *stāhrpaesanghān* with proper *garāpān* is necessary, as is revealed in Niyādūm Nask that—Thus spake Ahura Mazd, then for him who is a Mazdysna this fine garment *stehrpaesangha* with Defender of the faith (i.e. *garāvān*) is surely the first clothing to put on his body and kusti tied on it at his waist.

For Holy Ahura-Mazd, from amongst his spiritual creations, bestowed upon me (who am Zarathushtra) this fine spiritually-designed garment.

As this Defender of the Faith (*garavan*) is like the shining Sun, thereupon with these pure garments, O Spitama Zarathushtra! you invoke and sing praises to Ahura Mazd and the Ameshāspands.

Pahlavi rendering gives the translation of this Avesta passage with its usual glosses which make the meaning very explicit. The Pahlavi rendering is as under—

Pahlavi—‘Aétūn goft Aōharmazd ka öishān ké mazdayasta hend öi in *vastrag-i star-pesit* (ku taskuk) pas az haft sal bāstān (aé pas az haft sāl) andar khvesh tan fratūmîh nahumbet (aé pūshi-dann) öi ān avā varōeshnpān (kū garāvān darost) ū pas öi aiwyāgāhann awar öi stāhr-i ö miyān (chūn kamarbānd) banded.

Oi in che nivak pa didan *vastrag-i minöi tāshide* az minöyān dāmān bé öi men ke Zartuhsht ham frāz-dād Aōharmazd asho.

Chun öi varoeshnpān (ku garāvān hast) humānāk ān ke chun Khvurshid nivak varoeshnn dāshtār ū shed vahesht khvāstār hast ke padiraftār-i dīnn, pas awā an *vastrag-i yūsh-dāsar* (ku pāk) frāz-yaz ayöv stāyishnn kun Aōharmazd rāi ū Amahūspandān rāi, ae Spetmān Zartuhsht.

Zend in ku Mazdayastān hast ke Yazdān parastārān starpesit (ku vastragi-ū tashkuk) ū varōeshnn (ku az dil kāmāk dīnn dāshtār) (aé az di padiraftār-i dīnn-i mazdayastān ku garāvān darand.

Translation—Thus spoke Aoharmazd. Then for those, who are Mazdyasnan, invariably after seven years (i.e. after seven years of age), he first covers (i.e. puts on) his body with this fine *starpesid* garment (i.e. tashkuk Sūdreh), and that one is with Defender of the Faith (i.e. properly prepared garāvān) and then he, on that *Stāhar* ties the kusti at the waist (like a waist-band).

That Holy Aōharmazd bestowed on me, who am Zartuhsht,—this good-looking and spiritually-designed garment from amongst His spiritual creations.

And as this Defender of Faith (which is garāvān) is like the Sun (preserver of good faith) and seeker after shining paradise (there is one who says-is an acceptor of the religion) then with that purified (i.e. pure) garment, O Zartuhshat! you invoke and sing praises of Aōharmazd and Ameshāspands. (Gloss is this that Mazdayasnāns are worshippers of God and invested with *star-pesid* (i.e. the garment of Sūdreh) and with Faith (i.e. preservers of Faith by willing hearts and acceptors of the Mazdayasnan religion, i.e. they keep the garāvān).

This Avesta quotation as well its Pahlavi rendering clearly show that the word "Stehrpaesangha" is the equivalent for *Sudreh*, which should always have proper "garāvān," i.e. the sacred sac, otherwise known in Pahlavi writings as "Kisseh-i Kerfak", the sac in which all good meritorious deeds are to be stored up. Pahlavi has given explicit gloss that "Stāhr pae-sanghām" or "Star-pesid" or "stāhar" is "tashkuk" or "Sūdreh" and that this garāvān is in fact the emblem representing Protector of Faith and an absolutely necessary adjunct to a *Sūdreh*, which is the innermost garment of a Mazdyasnan.

There is a third passage in the same book on page 138, giving details of the clothing to be put on a dead body—where the Avesta equivalent for Sūdreh is given as "antema aiwyangunghana" with its Pahlavi equivalent "azir aiwyagan," which when paraphrased "innermost of the Kusti" or "what is underneath the Kusti." As this passage does not give any further information, I am not quoting it here. But from the passages of "Vachar Kard-i Dinik" it can be easily presumed that "Stehrpaesangha" is the specific word in Avesta for Sūdreh, the sacred shirt of the Mazdyasnāns.

Having now made an examination of the passages of Vachar-kard-i Dīnīk, let us now extend our inquiry to those passages wherein the word "Stehrpaesangha" occurs in the extant Avesta texts. There are four passages in which this word occurs, and there is a fifth one in which the word "Stehrpaesa" occurs. I consider the word *Stehrpaesa* as absolutely distinct from "*Stehrpaesangha*," the word under investigation.

The first and the most appropriate of these passages in which this word is met with in Avesta, is Yasna IX 26, and it is as under:—

Avesta—Frā té mazdāō barat paourvanīm aiwyānghānem *stehrpaesanghem* mainyu-tāshtem vanguhīm daenām mazdayasnīm.

Translation—(Ahura) Mazd brought forth for thee, ancient "küsti" (and) spiritually-designed "*stehrpaesangha*" (and) good Mazdayasn faith.

Ervad K.E. Kanga translates it—

(Ahura) Mazd brought forth for thee in ancient times spiritually designed (and) star-spangled Küsti (and) good mazdayasn faith.

Other scholars have also translated it in a similar sense. But my contention is that the translation as above by me is more appropriate, and clearly shows that God bestowed these gifts of Küsti-südreĥ and good holy Mazdayasn religion, on prophet Haoma. As stated above, a star-spangled Küsti has no meaning. Nobody has ever seen decorations on a Küsti, but one has seen decorations on a Südreĥ, as an embroider-Südreĥ as what we call in Gujarati-badhō bharelō sadrā. Such a Südreĥ has been in vogue and especially rich people used to exult in putting on a fully embroidered Südreĥ. Further in this as well as in all other passages, the word "*Stehrpaesangha*" is accompanied by the word "*mainyu-tāshta*," showing that Südreĥ is a sacred spiritual garment and has invariably been recognized as such.

The Pahlavi rendering of this passage is thus—

Pahlavi—Frāz tō ān-i Aōharmazd bōrd parvand aiwya-kgān-i star-pesid-i minuyān-tāshid veh dīnn-i Mazdayastān (avash aiwiyākgānih é ku chun küstik awā mard ayōkarde dinn-icha-i awā Hom aedūm ayōkarde).

Translation—Hormazd brought forth for thee the clothing of "*aiwya-kgān*" (küsti) and spiritually-designed "*star-pesid*" (Südreĥ) and good Mazdayasn faith. The state of having Küsti-südreĥ on ones' body is this, that just as küstisüdreĥ

are united (made one) with men (so also) the religion is united (made one) with Haoma).

In Dādīstān-i Dīnik, Pur. XXXVIII, sec. 15, the same quotation is copied out verbatim, as an authority quotation, in connection with the subject of "Sūdreh-Kūsti" as under—

Pahlavi—Chun gōft-ast andar mānsar ku aiwyāngān-i star-pesid-i minu-yān-tāshid veh dinn-i mazdayasnan.

Trans—As it is said in Avesta, that Kusti and spiritually-designed "star-pesid" and good mazdayasn religion.

Now in this Pahlavi rendering of the avesta passage, there is one technical word "parvand" used before the word "aiwyāngān" and it seems to have been in place of the Avesta word "paourvanim." J2 and K5 give this word as "parvand" with a circumflex over *d*, whilst in Mss. 91 of Mulla Feeroze Library, there is a gloss "fradūm" written above "parvand." The Avesta word "paourvanya" means 'former' 'ancient,' or of old; but the word "parvand" used by the Pahlavi writers is, I presume, quite a different thing. My presumption is that the Pahlavi writers had the subject of Kusti-sudreh foremost in their mind and hence used the technical term "parvand," which occurs repeatedly in Pur. XXXVIII of Dādīstān in connection with Kusti-sudreh investiture, where even the words "parvandiha" and "parvandashnik" are found. This word "parvand" has been translated by late scholars-Ervads Temuras and Sher-yarji and Dr. West as "girdling of Kusti-sudreh", and I personally consider that the word has a similar allied sense as "clothing as a fold or wrapping around. We have a N. Per. word "parvande" meaning "a roll of cloth" (bast-i pārchē). Dr. Unvala takes this word as "porvani," stating that Neryosangh has seen in Pahlavi "porvani," a mere transcription of Avesta "paourvanim". Dr. Davar considers it "not unlikely to be the same word as the one which occurs in Didistan, and translated by Dr. West as "belt."

I therefore presume that this word "parvand" is a purely technical expression for "putting on the clothing of Sūdreh-kūsti on one's body in a roll as a wrapper, and wherever this word occurs it may be interpreted as "putting on of kusti-sudreh." Now if we accept this, we shall have no equivalent for Av. paourvanim in the Pahlavi translation, and in MSS. 91 of M. F. Library, the writer seems to have supplemented this omission by gloss "fradum" (first). That such omissions in Pahlavi are not uncommon as in Codex K5 the important word "aiwyākgān" is dropped perhaps by an oversight of the copyist. Also we have seen above in the first passage of 'Vachar-

III]

ard' in dropping of the important word 'stehrpaesangha'. Thus, it can be clearly inferred that in this pertinent passage, both in Avesta and Pahlavi, the subject of Kusti-sudreh is in view and thus the Av. word "Stehrpaesangha", (Pah. star-pesid) is an equivalent for "Sudreh" in Avesta.

The SECOND passage in Avesta, wherein this word occurs, is XIII. 3 and is as follows:—

Avesta—Yim Mazdāo vaste venghanem stehrpaésanghem mainyu-tāshtem, hachimno Mithro Rashnucha Armaiticha Spentaya.

Translation:—Ahura Mazd, and following suit with him, Mithra, Rashnu and Spenta Armaiti, have put on it (the sky) the garment of spiritually-designed "stehrpaésangha"; whilst the usual translation is Ahuramazd, and following suit with Him, Mithra, Rashnu and Spenta Armaiti, has put on it the (sky) spiritually-designed star-spangled garment.

I submit that the first interpretation is better, but even taking for granted the usual translation, the natural question is as to what can be the spiritually-designed and star-spangled garment, but the spiritual garment of Südreh. Hence "stehrpaésangha" is better interpreted "südreh" than as "star-spangled" garment.

The THIRD passage for examination is Y. X. 143, as under—

Avesta:—Yazāi ham-tashtem yo dadhvāo spento-mainyush stehrpaésanghem mainyu-tāshem.

Translation:—I offer my praises to skilfully-worked-out spiritually designed "stehrpaesangha" of Bountiful Spiritual Lord, (who is) the Creator.

Various translators have taken for granted that this sentence is in connection with the *vāsha*, the chariot of Mithra, and have translated this passage taking for granted the word 'vāshem' understood after 'ham-tashtem' and translated as under 'I offer my praises to the skilfully constructed (chariot), which is spiritually-designed and adorned with stars, of the Bountiful Spiritual Lord, (who is) the Creator'.

This translation takes *mainyu-tāshem* and *stehrpaesangha* as words qualifying the noun *vāsha*. But still I submit that even if we regard the two words as qualifying the noun *vāsha*, still the translation as under is not so inconsistent, viz.—

I offer my praises to skilfully-constructed (chariot) (which is like) the spiritually-designed 'stehrpaesangha' (Sudreh) of the Bountiful Lord, (Who is) the Creator.

Thus even this passage can reasonably interpret "Stehrpaesangha" as Sūdreh.

The FOURTH passage is Y.X.90 as under:—

Avesta—Yö paoiryö hāvana haomān uzdasta stehrpaésangha mainyu-tāshta haraithyö paiti berezayāo.

Trans—Who first prepared haoma (juice) on the top of (Mount) Elbruz in an hāvanim (mortar) of spiritually-designed "stehrpaesangha" (type) (i.e. fully embroidered Sūdreh type).

This translation is not so materially altered if even instead of 'Sūdreh' we allow the meaning 'star-spangled' and alter the last words as "in an Havanim spiritually-designed and decorated with stars (type).

In all these four passages, I have just attempted to show how the interpretation of "stehrpaésangha" as "sūdreh" fits in, in each place without disturbing the sense of the context in any material way. In all these passages the word "stehrpaésangha" is accompanied by the compound word "mainyu-tāshta," indicating the spiritual origin and spiritual significance of "stehrpaésangha," an aspect which appropriately fits with the suggestion in question.

There is, however, a fifth passage which contains the word "stehrpaésa" and not "stehrpaésangha, viz. Yasna LVII. 21; and I submit that the word "stehrpaésa" is quite distinct from the word "stehrpaésangha". For whilst the former is to be interpreted as "adorned with stars," the latter has a strong presumption to be regarded as the equivalent for "Sūdreh" the sacred shirt.

Of the four passages in extant Avesta, the first two are quite explicit

The first one is particularly in connection with "sudreh-kusti," and the second one is as regards clothing or garment. In the third one, along with the description of the chariot of Mithra, it is inserted at that place. There is no word for chariot there, and "stehrpaésangha" "mainyu-tāshta" and "ham-tashta" are in accusative singular, showing their mutual connection. The fourth one has a greater probability, the craftsmanship and decoration of the "havanim" are similar to that of an embroidered Sūdreh (stehrpaésangha).

These passages in extant Avesta and the other two passages of Vachar-kard-i-Dinik, lead one to presume that the word "stehrpaésangha" may, in all probability, be regarded as Avesta equivalent for "SUDREH" the sacred shirt of the ZOROASTRIANS.

PAHLAVI YTK : YATAK, JATAK *

By

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The invocatory formulas given in various Mss. of some of the Pahlavi texts,¹ edited by Dastur J. M. Jamaspasana, contain a rare word *ytk*, which is obscure. In these formulas the word is invariably qualified by *nevak* : 'good, auspicious, happy'. It is a peculiar fact that while this word is freely used in the Mss. of the above Pahlavi texts, it never occurs in similar formulas in numerous Mss. of other Pahlavi texts. Besides these formulas, the word occurs also in (1) the Pahlavi Xvarshét Niyayishn, O, 19;² (2) the Pahlavi Atash Niyayishn, 18;³ (3) the Pahlavi Chrmazd Yasht, 25, 27;⁴ (4) the Pahlavi Srosh Yasht, 2;⁵ (5) the Dāstān I Dénik, Pursishn 36;⁶ (6) the Dénkart, Book III⁷; and (7) the Mātikān I Hazār Dātistān, Ch. XLII⁸. The same word occurs also in the Mid. Pers. Turfan texts⁹ as *jdg* : *Jaday*; and also *hwjdg* : *hu-Jaoay* :

The word is variously explained as follows :

West¹⁰ : *dadako* : 'Judge'.

*We regret that diacritical marks over *j* and *z* necessary for words like *jatak* and *mizd* were not procurable A.S.A.

1. *Pahlavi Texts*, ed. Jamaspasana. Pt. I, Bombay 1897, p. 18.4; Pt. II, Bombay 1913 (posth. publ.), pp. 51.18; 55.1; 58.14, 15; 78.15; 85.2; 102.16; 121.17; 132.17; 132.17. See also *Ganj-é-Shāyagān* (invocatory formulas in the first two texts), ed. P. Sanjana, Bombay 1885; *Pahlavi Texts*, ed. and transl. into Persian by Khudayar S. Irani, Bombay 1899, p. 24.1.

2. *Zand I Kūrtak Avistāk*, ed. B.N. Dhabhar, Bombay 1927, pp. 14.12 note 15 (p. 275.19); 22.22 (note 3: p. 286.11); 23.7.

3. *Ibid.* pp. 45.14 note 7 (:p. 312.5); 46.4

4. *Ibid.* p. 97.5, 14. See also Dhalla, *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1918, p. 389.20.

5. *Zand I Khūrtak Avistāk*, p. 111.21 note 19 (: p. 349.5).

6. *Dātistān I Denik*, ed. T.D. Anklesaria, p. 11.8.

7. *Denkart*, ed. Madan, Bombay 1911, pp. 352.3, 5; 353.2; ed P. Sanjana, Vol. VIII, Bombay 1897, pp. 390.9, 11; 391.9.

8. *The Social Code of the Parsis in Sasanian Times or the Mātikān I Hazār Dātistān*, ed. T. D. Anklesaria, Bombay 1912 (posth. publ.), pp. 36.11, 12; 39.3.

9. *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesische-Turkestan II*, by F.C. Andreas, posth. publ. by Henning, Berlin 1933, pp. 38.22 (also note 7); 39.21; 40.22; *Ein Manichaisches Bet- und Beichteuch*, by Henning, Berlin 1937, p. 30.9.10.

10. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XVIII, p. 120.

P. Sanjana ¹¹ : *date* : 'one who gives, one who bestows'.

K. S. Irani ¹² : *datak* : (Pers.) *deh* ; *datak nyok* : '*nīkī deh*'.

T. Anklesaria and Bharucha ¹³ : 'charity.'

Modi ¹⁴ : *datak* (for *datak*) : 'administrator of justice.'

Dhalla ¹⁵ : *datak* : 'giver.'

Bulsara ¹⁶ : *datak* : (1) 'gift'; (2) 'governor.'

Andress ¹⁷ and Henning ¹⁸ : 'Ruhm'.

Generally speaking, therefore, the word is understood to have been derived from the verb *dātan* ; and it is interpreted accordingly. Some scholars connect the word with *dāt* : 'law' 'justice' ; while Andreas and Henning interpret the word by 'Ruhm', but they offer no explanation. But none of these explanations suits the context in all the texts quoted above.

I beg to submit that the word is derived from Av. and Old. Pers. *yam-*, Skt. *yam-* : 'to hold, to seize'¹⁹. The word *ytk*, therefore, may be explained as OIr. **yamta-* > **yata-* > Mid. Pers. *yatak* > *jatak* > Mid. Pers. Turfan *jaoay* : 'what one holds, part, portion, lot, share, dispensation, destiny, luck, fortune'. In this way, Pahl. *yth* : *yatak*, *Jatak* may be regarded as cognate with Av. *yāta-* : 'share, lot'²⁰ ; Phl. *yatak*, *Jatak* ²¹ ; Mid. Pers. Turfan *Jāoay* ²² : 'share, lot'; and Mod. Pers. *jada* 'pathway, road, manner, practice (lit. what one has held)'. Cf. also Phl. *yātagowih*, *jātagowih*; Pazand *Jādangoi* : '(lit) speaking for the lot (of others)', i.e. 'advocacy intercession'.²³

11. P. Sanjana, *op. cit.* Glossary p. 12.

12. K.S. Irani, *op. cit.* Pers. Transl. p. 14.

13. *Dāstān I Denīk*, Guj. transl., Bombay 1926, p. 98.

14. *Shatroihā I Airān*, Bombay 1899, p. 50-51.

15. *Nyaishes or Zoroastrian Litanies*, New York 1908, pp. 62.18; 63; 64.3; 191.14.

16. *The Laws of the Ancient Persians*, Bombay 1937, pp. 538-539, 548-549.

17. *op. cit.* pp. 38, 39, 40.

18. *op. cit.* p. 30.

19. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904, 1262 f.

20. *Ibid.* 1888; *zum Altir. Wb.*, Strassburg 1906, p. 214. Cf. *yātamant-* : (lit.) one who has received the share', i.e. 'rich, well off'; *Altir. Wb.* 1283.

21. *Zand I Khūrtak Avistāk*, p. 61.10.

22. Andreas *op. cit.* p. 28.7,9.

23. West and Haug derive the word from *dāt* : 'law'; hence 'speaking justice, pronouncing law'; *Glossary and Index of Arda Virāf*, p. 180. Darmesteter connects the word with Av. *jao-* 'to ask a favour' *Etudes Iranienmes II* p. 155.

As a rule, Av. *yāta-* is rendered into Pahlavi by *bahr*²⁴; but in one case one Ms. translates Av. *yata-* by *yatak, Jatak*, and explains by *bahr*²⁵ : 'share, lot'.

Pahlavi *Jatak* is used in the same sense as Phl. *jatak*, explained above, or in various shades of that meaning. In the Phl. Ohrmazd Yasht 25 Av. *mizda-* (: 'reward') is rendered by Phl. *mizd* and explained *ytk : jatak*; the last word, therefore, must have a similar meaning, namely 'reward, recompense, share, lot'. In the Phl. Xvarshed Ny. *rocik datak* is explained by *mizd Jatak*, i.e. 'reward and share', 'recompense and destiny'. Again, Phl. *datar* is gloseed : *jatak paitakih* : 'proof of destiny'; i.e. *datar* ('the Creator') is regarded as the giver of destiny, and the word, therefore, is pointed out by the commentator as a proof of the existence of destiny. In the Denkart, there is a chapter on *jatak* U érih : 'destiny and heredity'.²⁶ In this chapter it is explained that destiny and heredity are worldly connections. This is quite in keeping with the Pahlavi idea of *baxt*, according to which a man can acquire worldly things by his *baxt* (= 'destiny'), but for spiritual happiness one has to rely on one's own action. As noted above, the invocatory formulas have *jatak i névak*, while, as a rule, in the Pahlavi literature we find the corresponding term *dahisn i névak*²⁷ : 'good dispensation'. This fact also proves that Pahl. *jatak* is used in the sense of 'destiny, dispensation, lot, share, fortune'. In the *Mâtikân i Hâzar Dâtistân* the word is used in the extended sense of document concerning heritage or inheritance, i.e. 'trustdeed, testament, will'.

From what has been stated above, we can safely conclude that Phl. *jatak* is cognate with Av. *yāta-*, Phl. *jatak*; and it is used in the sense of 'reward, share, lot, destiny, fate, dispensation, luck, fortune', and also in the extended sense of 'trust-deed, testament, will.' This explanation suits the context in all the texts. Not only that but in some cases the context demands such an explanation.

The following passages illustrate the use of the word with the meaning settled above:—

- (1) *Pahlavi Texts* p. 18. 3f., etc. (see above note 1) :
pa nām u nerok u hayārih i dātār āhrmazd Jatak i nevak ;

24. *Frahang I Oim*, ed Reichelt, pp. 18, 162 (W.Z.K.M. XIV, XV).

25. *Zand I Khūrtak Avistāk*, p. 158,3 note 66 : p. 378.28 ff.

26. Phl. *erih* : 'Aryanism, nobility'; and in this case the word is used in the extended sense of heredity'.

27. See, for instance, *Pahlavi Texts*, ed. Jamaspasana, p. 1.2.

'In the name, strength and help of the Creator Ohrmazd, (and) 'with good dispensation'.

(2) *Zand I Khurtak Avistāk* p. 14. 12 note 15 (: p. 275.19) : *rōcik dātak [u mizd Jatak]* : 'the giver of daily wages [and reward and share]'.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 22. 21f. :

dātār [ku paitāk kartak getik u Jatak nevakih] : 'the Creator [i.e. He made manifest the world and the happiness of destiny]'.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 22.21 note 3 (:p. 286.11):

*dātār [paitākih getik dātār, e ku** gyān u Jatak**]* : 'the Creator

[(this is) the proof (of the fact that) He is the Creator of the world; i.e. (the Creator of) life and destiny]'.

(5) *Ibid.* pp. 23. 7; 46.4 :

dātār [ku Jatak paitākih] : 'the Creator [i.e. (this is) the proof of destiny]'.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 45.14 note 7 (: p. 312. 4f.):

dātār [paitākih getik dātār e ku Jatak] : 'the Creator [the proof that He is the Creator of the world ; i.e. destiny (of the people of the world)]'.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 97.5 :

Av. *yōi stō mizem asaonam* : Phl. transl. *ke hast mizd* [-*jatak*] *ahrawān* : 'which is the reward [lot] of the holy persons'.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 97.13f. :

Av. *hazanrem baesazanam baevare baesazanam* : phl. transl. 1000 *bār besazasnih u* 10,000 *bār besazasnih* [*Jatak bavāt*] : 'one thousand times health and ten thousand times health [may it be (our) lot]'.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 111.20f., note 19 (: p. 349.5f.):

Av. *yazata pāyū θwōrestāra yā vīspa θweresatō dāman* : Phl. transl. *u-š yašt Jānak ī brīnkar* [*mihr yazat*] *ke harvispen brihenitār ī dāmān* [*ševakih; ku hac ān barsonm yašt pānak yazet*]: 'and he (i.e. Srōs) worshipped the Protector who is (also) the Destiner [*Mihr Yazat*], who is the creator of all creations [happiness (of the creatures); i.e. with barsom he worshipped the Protector (and) the Destiner *Mihr Yazat*; if (one wishes

28-29. Mss. *y'wwytk* for *g'n wytk*.

that) there is happiness and (good) fortune among the creatures, (then) one worships him]’.

(10) *Dātistān I Denīk* ed. Anklesaria, p. 111.6ff. :

pa xves spur xvāparih visp-cārīh baxset ö kirpak-karān sacāk pāyakīh, ān zör ī Jatak erīh vehīh u ratīh : ‘by His complete kindness and all resourcefulness, He bestows on the doers of good deeds the befitting position, (and by) the strength of destiny and heredity (He bestows) goodness (or riches, wealth) and lordship’.

(11) *Denkart* ed. Madan, p. 352.3 : ed. Sanjana Vol. VIII, p. 390.9 :

apar jatak u erīh hac nikiz i vehden : ‘On destiny and heredity from the explication of the Good Religion’.

(12) *Dénkart* ed. Madan, p. 365.5 : ed. Sanjana Vol. VIII, p. 390.9 :

Jatak u erīh hast patvandān ī gētāk : ‘destiny and heredity are the worldly connections³⁰’.

(13) *Dénkart* ed. Madan, p. 353.2 : ed. Sanjana Vol. VIII, p. 391.9 :

pešenik u dānāk gowisn ku Jatak u erīh harv kirukih andar : ‘the ancient and the wise saying is this that there is all intellect (of God) in destiny and heredity.’

(14) *Mātīkān ī Hazār Dātistān* ed. Anklesaria, p. 36.6ff.:

apāk ān ī guft ku āturpāt ī martbutān būt; pa rawān ī āturpāt ātaš nisast; u ātaš pa sardārih ī oi ke dātavas ī ham āturpāt xvāhar u zan būt dāstān gowet, dāstan rāy framān dāt. u pa ān dastawarih ātas nisast. u dātavas ān ātaš frāc hac farrāvandān an mart dāstan rāy guft; u pa muhr ī vanand³¹-ohrmazd, [1] ātur ī erān xvarreh [1] xusarw casān būt, jatak hanbast, frameānio ī āturpāt pa ošisn³² o jatak baret.

‘Along with what has been stated that there was Aturpāt son of Martbut; he (in his bequest) established a Fire for (the benefit of) the soul of Aturpāt (i.e. for his own soul) ; and he declares to keep that Fire under presidentship of that person’.

30. Cf. Phl. Vidévdāt V 89 com. : *getik pa baxt menok pa kunisn* : ‘(one gets) worldly things by (one’s) destiny, spiritual (bliss) by (one’s own) action’.

31. The text *wlnd*; Gulsara (*op. cit.* pp. 512-13 note 6; 538-39) reads *varanj*. But see *Great Bund.* 50.4 : *wlnd* = *Bund.* (Justi) p. 12.22 : *wnd* = *Pazand Texts* (Antia) p. 25.5 : *vanat*. See also *Gr. Bund.* 52.5 : *wlnd*, wrongly written for *wnd* = *vanand*.

32. The text *wsk’n* for *wasn*.

who was Dātxvaś, the sister or the wife of that same Aturpāt; (then, by so saying) he gave the behest to keep (the Fire that way). And on this authority, she (i.e. Dātxvas) established the Fire. And Dātxvaś declared that after Dātxvaś the Fire should be kept by the descendants of Farrxvand, and after the descendants of Farrxvand by other person; and she (i.e. Dātxvas) executed (or sealed) a trustdeed (*jatak*) (to that effect) with the seal of Vanand-Ohrmazd, who was (one of) the preceptors of the Fire Erān Xvareeh of Xusraw, (then) she (i.e. Dātxvaś) shall embody (lit: carry) in the trustdeed (*jatak*) also the behest of Aturpāt (which he gave) on (his) death'.

(15) Ibid. p. 39. 1ff. :

u ān i guft ku ātas ka apar storih nišinet, sāyet. u ka o nišinet, u-s xvāstak pa storih³ dahet, storih ne pa raft dārisn.

apāk ān i guft ku pa jatak i dātgušnasp i šahrzāt rexn³ kart; u pa muhr i vēhsāpuhr mayopatān mayopat hanbast; pa gowisn i dātgušnasp oyon nipist ku-m ātas-l pa varhrānih o dātqās nisast, u en xvāstak pa storih i man u xvesih i ātas dāstan³; o ātas dāt.

'And it is said that if one establishes a Fire by bequest, it is proper. And if one establishes (a Fire in one's lifetime), and gives property for the maintenance of) it by bequest, then

33. I.e. one enjoins one's heirs to establish a Fire from the property bequeathed to them.

Phl. *storih* (: 'adoption') is here used in the extended sense of bequest, i.e. act of bequeathing or things bequeathed to the adopted heirs or to the heirs in general.

34. The text gives *lk'n* for *ly'n* : *rixn* : 'heritage' ; cf. Av. *raexnah-*, Skt. *rekans*, Mod. Pers. *rig* 'fortune, luck' ; see also *murdeh rig* 'effects of a dead person, any-thing hereditary, left as a heirloom'. See also Av. *raexnah-* (Yas. 32.11) : Phl. transl. *ly'n* : *rezn*, explained by *xvāstak* 'wealth, property' ; see Spiegel, *Avesta* Phl. Yas. 32.11; Gartholomae, *Altir. Wb.* 1480; *zum Altir. Wb.* p. 108; West, *Ancient Persian Studies*, pp. 192-93. In Phl. Yasna 34.7, *Avesta Pahlavi* and Av. *raexnah-* is translated by Phl. *rezn* and explained by *kar u kirpak*, referring to spiritual heritage.

The word *rezn* occurs also in the *Denkart* Book VII (Madan p. 664.9f. : *Sanjana* Vol. XIV p. 76 notes 5-6) in the following sentence (slightly corrected) :

ōisān zartust be hac to ān-ic i rezn vindisn apparend : 'O Zartust, they (i.e. the broods of Evil Spirit) will deprive you of that which is (your) heritage and acquisition'.

It appears that in this case *rezn* and *vindisn* are used for spiritual heritage and acquisition, namely religion and the followers of Zartust.

With *rezn vindisn apparend* of this sentence, cf. Av. (Yas. 32.11) *apayeiti raexnanho vaedem* : Phl. transl. *apparet ān rezn-ic vindisn* : 'he carries away also that heritage and acquisition.'

it (i.e. property in question) should not be regarded as having gone to the bequest (i.e. as heritage bequeathed to the heirs).

'Along with what has been stated that if in the trustdeed of Dātgušnasp son of Šahrzāt, he bequeathed (lit. made) a property (*rean*); and he executed (or sealed) it (i.e. the trustdeed) with the seal of Mayopatān Mayopat Vehsāpuhr; (and) in the declaration of Dātgušnasp it is written thus : 'I established a Fire in the status of Varhrān (i.e. Atās Behrām) in the Dātgās (i.e. the proper place), and this property should be kept in my bequest and for (maintaining my) relationship with the Fire'; (then by so declaring) he gave (the property) for (lit. to) the Fire.

The word occurs in the following sentences in the Mid. Persian Turfan texts :

(1) M31 IIR. 19f. (Andreas *op. cit.* p. 38.21f.)

āmaδ nor mūrīvā aβzon uδ jaδay i humāyon : A new omen, prosperity and good fortune came'.

(2) M729 I R I. 7ff. (Andreas p. 39. 20f.) :

uδ istāyem o to sārār i hu-jaδay : (And we praise thee, o Leader, of good luck)

(3) M277 V II. 5ff. (Andreas p. 40. 22f.) :

farroα hu-jaδay new-mūrīvāh istūδ-nām u vehikunišn : 'Happy, of good luck, of happy omen, whose name is to be praised, and whose actions are good'.

(4) *Bet-und Beichtbuch* p. 30.9f.

avar paδ nor Jaδay nawāk : 'Melody On Come Hither to New Luck.'

(5) *Ibid.* p. 30. 10ff.

avar paδ nor Jaδay uδ new-mūrīvāhā u paδ rocān īy anāvioir šādī : 'To the new luck and happy omen and to the days of imperishable joy, come hither'.

35. It is to be noted that in the Semitic languages also we have a similar word, with a similar meaning; cf. Aram. *GD* : *gadd*, Arab. *jadd*. From this Semitic word we have the Phl. ideogram *GDMN* : *gaddā*, which is explained by *xvarreh* 'glory, splendour, lustre'; and also by *baxt* 'fortune'; See *Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary* ed. Hoshang and Haug, p. 1.4,6; *Frahang i Pahlavik* ed. Junker, p. 1.2,3; *Glossary and Index of Ardā Virāf* by West and Haug, p. 165. The form *CDMN* given by Junker seems to be an attempt to connect the ideogram with Arab. *jadd*.

Perhaps the same word *jatak* appears also on some of the Sasanian coins. According to Dr. Unvala,³⁶ a peculiar word occurs on the coins of Peroj, Shapur II, Yazdagard II, Kavat I and Cosroes II, which is read *kdy* : *kadi*. Dr. Unvala suggests that this word is connected with Phl. *katik*, Av. *katay*- 'ready, willing' (*Altir. Wb.* 433). Some scholars, according to Dr. Unvala derive the word from Semitic *gad* 'fortune, luck', *gadi* 'fortunate.' But this Semitic word is represented by the Phl. ideogram GD-MN : *gadda*. Again Dr. Unvala (loc. cit.) informs us that we have *hukad* on the coins of Vologeses. Morgan, according to Dr. Unvala, translates this word by 'happiness in marriage and *kadi* or *gadi* by 'he who has the duty of assuring the continuation of the family, the prince'. We may suggest a new explanation. If it is possible to read the word as *ytk* : *jatak* or *ydg* : *jaḡay* (instead of *kdy*), then the word may be identified with Phl. *jatak*, Mid. Persian Turfan *jaḡay* 'fortune, luck'; and *hwkd* (on the coins of Vologeses) with *hujatak* or *hujajay* 'good fortunne, good luck'.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

1. In 1912, Eryad N. B. Desai copied a Gujarati Ms. of *Pursesh-Pāsokh*, written by S. Dastur Erachij Sorabji Meherjirana. The Phl. invocatory formulae in this Ms. contains the word *ytk*; see *pursesh-Pāsokh* (*Ganj-e-Irani*, part 4), published by H. T. Anklesaria, Bombay 1941, *Intekhab* p. 16.

2. J. C. Tarapore gives *ytk*: '*datak* holy', without any explanation. see *Pahlavi Andarz Namak*, by J. C. Tarapore, Bombay 1933, p. 18.

3. Sanskrit translation of Phl. *rexn* is not helpful. In Yas. 32.11 Neryosang translates *rexn* by आनन्द; and Bharucha remarks that the Avesta text of Neryosang's codex must have been *rafnañho*, and not *raexnanho*. See Bharucha. *Collected anskrit Writings of the Parsis*, part II p. 13 note 135. In Yas. 34.7, Skt. translation is सत्याय. Neryosang here perhaps reads Phl. *ry'n* as *raśn*, Av. *raśnu*.

36. *Coins from Tabaristan and Some Sasanian Coins from Susa* by J.M. Unvala, Paris 1938, p. 26 note 1.

A NOTE ON THE WORDS "ZĪRAK TRIMAN" IN A PAHLAVI TEXT 'APAR MATAN I SHĀH VAHRĀM I VARCHĀVAND'*

By

ERVAD MANECK F. KANGA B. A. (HONS.)

'Apar matan i Shāh Vatrām i Varchāvand,' meaning, 'On the advent of King Vahrām, the wonder-worker,' is a small Pahlavi text of about twenty-three lines, found in Mss. Mk, JJ. and DP. respectively. Dastur Dr. Jamaspji M. Jamasp Asana has edited this text on pp. 160-161 of Pahlavi Texts Part II. Dastur Minocher Jamasp Asa has translated it in the Sir JJ. Madressa Jubilee volume pp. 75-76 Mr. Auklesaria has given a short summary of this text in the Introduction to Pahlavi Texts, Part II.

In my paper for this Conference I deemed it fit to give the transcription and translation of this text and to explain the correct reading and meaning of the phrase 'Zīrak triman.' Mr. Anklesaria reads the phrase "Zīrak tareman" and translates "of cunning Judgment". Dastur Minocher Jamasp Asa reads the phrase in question "Zīrak tarjuman" and translates "of smart senses." Comparing the word 'tarjuman' with the Arabic tarjuman, meaning, lit. interpreters². Both the reading and meaning assigned to the phrase under consideration by these scholars are not satisfactory. In Dēnkart we find the word written 'turiman'³, which should not be confounded with the word 'triman', occurring in the Pahlavi text. Dastur Peshotanji Sanjana in his Dēnkart Vol. I reads "tūrīmān"⁴ and compares it with Skt *bhūyaman*, and translates correctly "senses or bodily faculties." Consequently, this word cannot be compared with Syriac *trgmān* "interpreter." I give the text in transcription of the Dēnkart passage where the word *tnriman* occurs:

Ut pākīh u shātīh i rās hach-akhv ö ménishn pat nazdiktō-
mih i o yazdān ö-ch ménāk vénishnih i rasét hach bérōn i tan
7 dui-tan vaspuhrakān afurrītak tūrīmān i api-sh 5 ēt i

* Owing to typographical difficulties, long vowels are denoted in three different ways, o g. ā, é and ü.

¹ See *Pahlavi Texts*, Part II. Introduction p. 52.

² See *Sir J.J. Madressa Jubilee* Vol. p. 75 and f.n. 65.

³ *The Dinkard* ed. by Madon Part I. p. 48 l. 20 and p. 49 l. 2.

⁴ *The Dinkard* Vol. I ed. and tran. by Sanjana. Glossary p. 20. S. V.

khvānēnd sohish-nān-ich hand vénishn ashnavishn chāshishn hanbōdhisn ut ptrmayishn ké kart éstét hach bérōn i rōchen ut māk i vitārtār katak khvatay apāyishnīk rashnīh o katak ut évāk tūrīmān i hast mātīgān özvān.

From this Dénkart passage it clearly follows that the word turiman means "senses or bodily faculties" and not interpreters.

At the outset I suggest here that the first two letters of the Pahl. word triman should be appended to the preceding word Zirak. The result will be the reading Ziraktar, comp. of Zirak and the remaining four letters of that word will read Zamān, Mid Pers. Turf. Zhamān, Zamān meaning, time, age.¹ Hence the whole phrase would read ziraktar zamān, meaning the wisest of the age, the comparative being used in the sense of the superlative cf. Av. pouru-Jirain Āfrin i Paighāambar Zartosht, 2, Fravartīn yt. 131 and Ābān Yasht, 93. Ervad kanga translates it by "full of activity or intelligence"² and Prof. Bartholomae translates it "of great intelligence"³. In the Pahlavi version of Āfrin i Paighambar Zartosht, we find purr-Zir, a mere transcription of Av. word. It is, however, explained by the gloss 'danak' wise and 'purr-khart' full of wisdom⁴. Av. word Jira-adj., Skr. Jira-means 'swift, quick, intelligent, artful, derived from the base gay. The text and translation of the sentence in which this phrase occurs runs a under: mart i basir apāyēt kartan Ziraktar-Zamān. A fore-boding man, the wisest of the age, is needed.

Transcription:

1. Ka bavāt ? ka padhak-é āyēt hach Hindūkān, ka mat ān i Shah Vahrām hach dut ak⁵, i kayān, kapil hast hazār, ut apar sarān sar hast pīlpān, ka ārāstak drafsh d rét pat adhven i husravān, pesh lashkar barend pat spāh-sardārān. Mart i basir apāyēt kartan Ziraktar-Zamān. Ka shavēt, bé gowēt pat Hindūkān ka aināk ché dūt hach dasht i Tājikān apar évāk groh. Dén nizār kart ut bé özat Shāhān shāh i

¹. Junker's and Scheftdowitz's derivation of Iran. Zhamān from Ass. simanu is not satisfactory. See Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik. 4. 393. Marquart's suggestion from the verb gam-is the only possible etymology. For the Ir. terms for time see Marquart *Adina* 1-10. To these Ir. words Prof. Bailey adds Saka Bāda-"time" *varta- the revolving.

² *Avesta Dictionary* p. 335.

³ *Altiranische Wörterbuch* s.v.

⁴ See my *Pahlavi Version of yashts* p. 106. f.n. 3

⁵ Text gives dūt instead of dūtāk; see para 2. l. 3 dūtāk.

amāk, ut hach ér öyshān chégön dév ut dév dārénd; chégön sag khvarénd nagn. Bé stat hand pātakhsāhīh i hach hus-ravanān né pat hunar né pat martih, bé pat awsos ut riyahrih bé stat hand. Girénd pat stahmb hach martömān Zan ut khvāstakihā i shirén bāgh bōdhistān. Gazitak apar nibat hand, bé bakht hand apar sāran. Apāch astik khvāst hand sāk i garān.

2. Bé nikīr, ka chand vat awkand ān druj pat én géhān ka nést vattar hach. Oy vant géhān hach amāk bé āyét. Ān Shāh Vahrām i varchāvand hach dūtak i Kayān bé āwarém kén i Tāzikān, chégön Retastahm āwört gurz kén i gehān. Ashān mazgītiḥ frot hitém, bé nishāném ātashān. Uzdéschā-rihā bé kaném ut pāk kuném hach géhān tāk avén shavénd druj vishūtākān hach én géhān.

Introductory Remarks :

This Pahlavi text from the language and style appears to be of later times and to have been translated into Pahlavi from a certain Arabic version which is perhaps lost. Witness Arabic words occurring in the above text: basīr (l.5), gazitak (l.12) astik (l.14) and mazgītiḥ (l.19). The text deals with the subject matter of the advent of a future apostle, generally known as Béhrām Varjāvand. Of the principal events described in the Pahlavi text "Māh Fravartīn Röch Khvardat" one is the appearance of Vahrām i Verchāvand from the land of the Hindustan. Zand i Vohuman Yasu also refers to the advent of the kay of the Religion and says that according to some commentators he is called Shāhpūr. The passage¹ runs thus :

'30 sālākīh ö hampursakīh i man Ohrmazd rasét, Spītāmān Zartāsht ! Pat kust i Chénistān guft; hast büt ké andar Hindūskān guft, zāyét kay; hast pit i öy kay hach kayān tōkhmak; pat adhyārīh ö urshétar ö Hindūkān shavét. Pat 100 sālākīh kāmāk ö Zanān bavét, api-sh hachis Zāyét kay i dénīk. Vahrām i Varchāvand nām khvānīhét; hast büt ké Shāhpūr guft.' I translate the above quotation as follows:—

At the age of thirty years he will attain to communion with me, Ohrmazd, O Spītāmān Zartösht ! They have said in the direction of Chénistān—others have said : in Hindustān—a ruler will be born. His father is a Kay from the race of Kayān. He will go to Hindustān with the help of Urshétar. For a period of hundred years he will have desire for women and that one will be born of him, the Kay of the Religion. 'He

¹ *Vohuman yasht* ed. by Kaikobad Adarbad, Poona, 1899, III. 13 ff.

is called by the name Vahrām, the wonder-worker. There was (some one) who said : Shahpur. Vahrām Varchūbvand thus opens the rule of the Saoshyants or saviours. His advent takes place in the time of common disorder and deterioration millennium. Cf. GrBd. ed. by Anklesaria, ch. 33 p. 217. 10ff.¹ The text purports to say :

1. When will it be ? (It will be) when a messenger will come from Hindustān, when Shāh Vahrām of the Kayanian family will appear, when there will be thousand elephants and upon each of their heads there will be an elephant-keeper, when he will hold a raised banner in the manner of Husravas and with commanders-in-chief will carry it in front of the army. A fore-boding man, the wisest of the age, is needed. When he will proceed, he will speak to the Hindus whatever we saw in the desert of Arabia in one multitude.² They weakened the religion and slew our king of kings. They keep away the Iranians as demons and fiends and make them eat bread like dogs. They have taken away the sovereignty from the Husravas niether by skill nor by manliness, but they have taken it away in mockery and ridicule.³ They take by force from men wives and sweet possessions, parks and gardens. They have imposed taxes and have distributed (them) upon the heads. They have demanded again the principal,⁴ a heavy tribute.

2. Consider, how much evil that druj has cast upon this world than which there is nothing worse. The world full

¹ Ut ka Rōmīk rasénd ut évak sāl pātakshāhīh rādh-énand ān hangām hach kustak i kāvulistān évak-e āyét, ké-sh khvarrah patish, hach dutak i baghān i kay Vahrām Khvānénd = And when the Romans will arrive and will administer authority for one year, at that time some one will come from the direction of Kāvulistān, on whom (is) the glory, from the family of the gods, whom they call Vahrām.

² Groh : Dastur Jamasp Asa reads groh and translates "class of people" Cf Vendidad II Glossarial Index p 81 where the word is read dravā and is translated "accord, consent, agreement, hence a conference." See Pahl. Vend. by Dastur Darab Sanjana p 18 para 21 l. 6 where the word is drānādh, which is the correct word. Sometimes the Pahl word drānādh is found written i r n ā or i r n a with i ; cf Zand i Khurtak Avistāk by Dhabfar p. 142, para 4 l. 4 ; Sūr Sakh-van, para 21, l. 2 ; yātkār i Vazorgmīhr p 86 l. 9 (Pahl Texts II) The word 'groh' multitude is rarely found in Pahl. literature.

³ Riyahrīh : Pāz. riāri, ryāri, "defilement" from inf. rītan, Av. ray (Air Wb. 1511) ; for full discussion, see Bailey in BSOS Vol. VI part 3 ; Mid Parth ryl "scorn haughtiness," Cf. Hemmings BSOS IX. 87.

⁴ Aslīk : Arabic Asali, Pers. māl i asli 'principal' Dastur Jamašp Asa combines this word with the preceding apāch and makes it a compound and translates "of low origin" ibid, p. 75.

of enjoyment of love¹ passes from us. We will bring that Shah Vahrām, wonderfully strong, of the Kayanian family, for the vengeance of the Tājiks just as Rōtastahm brought the mace² to avenge the world. We will cast down their mosques and will establish Fire-temples instead. We will extirpate their places of idolatory and clean wipe them off from the world until the druj and (his) broods will vanish from this world.

¹ Vant : I propose to read this word nntn as vant, Av. vanta. and translate 'loving pleasing, full of enjoyment of love'. Dastur Minocher Jamasp Asa reads it "Naut" and translates "tottering". Is it the mis-spelt word for Pahl. vat, 'wicked, evil'. The reading 'vat' was suggested to me by my teacher Mr. Gorvala.

² Text gives 'i r z' with circumflex sign over letter i déh sat a thousand, a thousand times. If this reading is adopted, the sentence would mean 'as Rōtastahm brought vengeance on the world (of the wicked) a thousand times, Ms. J. gives i r z without circumflex over i and is read gurz, Av. vazra = mace, I may here quote only two instances where this sign of circumflex is wrongly placed on the letter i, e. g. DKM 316 l. 2 where the word 'mnda' should be 'māya' ideogram of Ir. Sakhvan, word; Aparévénak i Nāmak Nipésishnūh : 'anni' with circumflex over i, which should be read anāng, meaning, blameless and not āvand, See Zachner BSOS, Vol. IX. part 1.93-109.

THE NAMES OF THE ACHAEMENIANS IN ALBERONI

By

B. T. ANKLESARIA.

It is a curiosity of history that the names of the Parsi Achaemenian kings cannot be found in the histories of Persia written by the Persians ! The term 'Achaemenian' cannot be met with in Firdausi's *Sāh-nāmāh*, neither in the Pahlavi Literature of yore, nor in the books of Persian historians, such as *Hamzah-i-Ispahānī*, *Tabarī*, *Albéronī* and others. We are unable to learn even to-day the story of what happened in Iran after the time of Kava Vistāspa, son of Lohrāsp (*Aurvataspa*), in whose reign Zarathuštra, the prophet of Iran, gave to the world his religion of monotheism, of belief in Ahura Mazdā.

If we turn our eyes to the Pahlavī literature for information, the '*Zand-ākāsih*', written by *Frenabag-i-Dātakih-i Abavahest-i Gošnjām* in about 931 A.C., now well known as the '*Bundahišn*', tells us : "When the sovereignty came to Vohuman son-of-Spenddāt, and there was scarcity, the Iranians fought amongst themselves, and there remained no man of the ruling dynasty who could rule ; they seated Vohuman's daughter Humāé on the throne of sovereignty. Then, during the reign of Dārāé, son of Dārāé, the emperor Alexander came to Irānsāhr, hying from Arūm, killed king Dārāé, destroyed all the families of rulers, magi, and public men of Irānsāhr, extinguished an immense number of sacred fires, seized the commentary of the Revelation of Mazdā-worship, and sent it to Arūm, burned the Avesta, and divided Irānsāhr among ninety petty rulers." (See *Ervad Tahmuras's 'Bundahišn'*, fol. 109a, 11.5-13.)

We also learn from the '*Zand-ākāsih*' that "of Vistāsp were Spend-dāt and Peśyōtan born ; and of Spend-dāt were Vohuman, Ātartariś, Mitrtariś, and others born." (See *Ervad Tahmuras's 'Bundahišn'*, fol. 118a, 11.8.10.)

The '*Zand-ākāsih*' further tells us : "Vohuman, son of Spend-dāt, reigned a hundred and twelve years; Humāé daughter of Vohuman, thirty years; Dārūé, son of Chihrāsāt, that is Vohuman, twelve years; Dārāé, son of Dārāé, fourteen years;

¹Owing to typographical difficulties long vowels are indicated by three different accents in this paper as in the last one and the modifications of *r* and *s* could not be denoted.

Alexander, the Aruman, fourteen years. (See Ervad Tahmuras's 'Bundahišn,' fol. 122a, 11. 2-4.)

If we turn to other Pahlavi writings, in the 'Summary of the Nasks' prepared by Ātarpāt-Ayémīt, in about 931 A.C., and embodied in the eighth book of the Dīnkart, we find the name of Vohuman Spend-dāt in the Summary of the Chitra-dāt. (See the text in Dīnkard, vol. XV., edited by Dastur Darabji Sanjana, p. 27, D.M. Madon's Text, Part II., p. 690, and 'Sacred Books of the East,' vol. XXXVII, p. 30 and n. 1.)

The 'Zand-i-Vohuman Yasn,' Ch. I., 5 refers to 'Artakhsīr-i kaé-ša' (king Artakhsīr the Kaé), and ch. II., 15 speaks of the same Artakhsīr the Kaé, who is called Vohuman son of Spend-dāt, who will separate the 'devs from men, adorn the whole world, and propagate the religion. (See 'Sacred Books of the East,' vol. V., Dr. West's translation on pp. 193, 198-199 and p. 198, note 5; B. T. Anklesaria's 'Zand-i-Vohuman Yasn' pp. 102, 105.)

The seventh book of the Dīnkart, ch. VII., 5, says: "Of the rulers, there was Vohuman, son of Spend-dāt, of whom this, too, is mentioned in the Avestā: 'The just Vohuman, the greatest maker of the assemblage of Mazdā-worshippers.'" (See 'Sacred Books of the East,' vol. XLVII, p. 83, and note 1; Dastur Darabji's Dīnkard, vol. XIV, text p. 48, translation p. 47 and n. 6; D.M. Madan's text, Part II, p. 650)

From the quotations given above it can be seen that 'Vohumanō son of Spentōdāta,' whose name cannot be found in the extant Avestan literature was supposed to be the same personage as 'Artakhsīr the Kaé, by the writer of the 'Zand-i-Vohuman Yasn'. Ātarpāt-i Ayémīt, the second compiler of the Dīnkart, in whose time, saving the text of the Avestā and the Zand of the 'Vaštāg' Nask and the Zand of the 'Nātar' (= 'Nakhtar') Nask, all the remaining nineteen Nasks were existing in their entirety, states in the seventh book of the Dīnkart that there was mention of Vohuman son of Spend-dāt in the Avestā. Even in these days of scant respect for writers of antiquity, I do not find any reason to doubt the veracity of the second compiler of the Dīnkart.

These Pahlavi writings must have been based on some authentic indigenous source or sources of Irānian history surviving at the time when they were written. As Frenabag, author of the 'Zand-ākāsih' (= 'Bundahisn') has stated, the 'Khvatā-yih nāma,' i.e., "the History of Sovereignty," an authentic work which was preserved in the Royal Treasury of the Sasa-

nian kings, was existing in his time, upto three centuries after Yazdakart, and he has made use of it whilst giving the genealogy of the Irānians. (See Ervad Tahmuras's 'Bundahisn,' fol. 120b, 1. 13.) Two centuries before Frenabag, Ibn al-Muqaffa had translated the Pahlavi 'Khvatāyih nāma' into Arabic. This was perhaps, the 'Kitab' Siyar-āl-mulūk referred to by Albérōnī (See Dr. Sachau's edition p. 108.) It is one of the wonders of the world that the Iranians, the Persians, or the Parsis, were unable to preserve the glorious history of the Parsi rulers, the Achæmenians, who had held sway over a very great part of the civilized world for over two centuries, 538-331 B.C.

Let us now turn to Abū-Raihān Muhammad b. Ahmad Albérōnī's 'Athār-ul-bākiya,' written in Arabic, in 1000 A.C. The text has been edited and translated by Dr. C. Edward Sachau in 1879. Sir Henry Rawlinson first directed public attention to this work, in his celebrated article on Central Asia in the "Quarterly Review" for 1866. "The work of generations will be required to do full justice to Albiruni," says Dr. Sachau. This work, aptly styled 'The Chronology of Ancient Nations' by Dr. Sachau, was written when the author was twenty-seven years of age. "All the books, *e.g.* on Persian and Zoroastrian history and traditions, composed in early times, not only by Zoroastrians but also by Muslims, converts from the Zoroastrian creed, are altogether unknown in Europe; and it seems very probable that the bigoted people of later times have spared very little of this kind of literature...."—so says Dr. Sachau in his preface. A contemporary of Dakikī and Firdusi, it is very interesting to find in Albérōnī, materials for supplanting the history of Irān, during the glorious period of Iranian history, missing in Firdausī. Upto now Abu-Raihān Albérōnī's 'Athār-ul-bākiya,' has been utilized by great Parsi savants such as Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, Jamshdji Dadabhai Nadersha, Mancherji Pestonji Khareghat, Dr. Manekji Batimanji Davar, and others for the elucidation of the question of intercalation in the Zarathustrian Calendar. But the wealth of information, which can be gathered of the history of Iran from the time of Gayōmarethna, the first man created on earth, upto the last Zarathustrian king of the Sasanian dynasty, Yazdakart-i Sastriyār, has been left untouched; perhaps because the Pahlvi works which give the scanty knowledge of history, have not as yet been carefully explored. Dr. Sachau does certainly refer to the "Bundahisn", chapters xxxii and xxxiv. (See his 'Annotations,' p. 399). But as the Irānian copies of the 'Bundāhisn' were known to very few persons in the world in 1879, when Dr. Sachau published his work, as

Dr. West's learned translation of the 'Bundahisn' appeared after Dr. Sachau's work, there was little chance of evaluating the rich material of Iranian history gathered by Abū-Raiḥān, at its true worth. If I now concentrate my remarks on the subject I have taken up to be placed to-day before the twelfth session of the All-India Oriental Conference, I will place before you the information Abū-Raiḥān Albérōnī has collected in the sixth chapter of his 'Athār-ulbākiya' as regards the eras, dates and reigns of kings. In order to study his subject in a masterly way before publishing his work, Albérōnī had studied the histories, eras and chronologies of all the races and nations of the world, of the different views and opinions expressed by the writers before him, and found out what he considered to be the truth out of the heap of materials which he sifted.

Albérōnī commences with (1) the chronology of the descendants of Adam upto Abraham, giving the different views of the Jews and the Christians, (2) 485 years from the time the Israelites left Egypt till the foundation of king Solomon's temple, (3) 427 years from the time the Temple was finished upto the date of its destruction by Nebukadnezzar, (4) 553 years from the date of destruction of the Temple till the birth of the Messiah, (5) 600 years from the birth of the Messiah upto the flight of the prophet Muhammad; (6) the thirty-seven Assyrian kings from Bélus upto Thonos Konkoleros, who reigned during 1305 years. According to the western authors, says Albérōnī, a foreigner named *Arbāk* in Hebrew, *Dahāk* in Persian, and *Dahhāk* in Arabic, came forward against this last Assyrian king, killed him and took possession of the empire, holding it till the time when the Kayānians, the kings of Babylonia, whom western authors are in the habit of calling Chaldaeans, brought the empire under their sway. The reign of Arbaces lasted seventy-two years. According to Albérōnī, "the Chaldaeans are not identical with the Kayānians, but were their governors of Babylonia. For the original residence of the Kayānians was Balkh, and when they came down to Mesopotamia, people took to calling them by the same name which they had formerly applied to their governors, *i.e.* Chaldaeans." The kings of Babylonia from Nimrod upto Arpakhshadh, who reigned during 236 years, after which it was occupied by the Assyrians for five years, (8) the kings of the Chaldaeans, of Babylonia, from Nebukadnezzar the first upto Alexander ben Macedo, who ruled for 428 years. It is in this table that we find the names of the kings, now well known as "the Achæmenians." As Albérōnī has stated above: the Chaldaeans were the governors of Babylonia, appointed by the Kayānians, and

they were called Chaldaians by mistake when they had come down to Mesopotamia. As Dr. Sachau says in his 'Annotations,' p. 397, this table of the kings of the Chaldaeans, given by Albérōnī, is the table of Ptolemy. Of these 'Chaldaian' kings, the first nineteen were Nebuchandnezar the first and his descendants who reigned during 192 years; the remaining 'Chaldaian' kings are the Parsi Achaemenians whom Albérōnī terms the 'Kayānians' who ruled for 228 years. I give their names :'

Darius the Median, the First	17 years
Cyrus, who rebuilt Jerusalem'	9 "
Cambyses	8 "
Darius	36 "
Xerxes (Ahasuerus)	21 "
Artaxerxes, the First	43 "
Darius	19 "
Artaxerxes, the Second	46 "
Ochus	21 "
Pharum	2 "
Darius bin Arsikh	6 "

228 years

(See the text of Albérōnī's 'Athār-bākiyah,' p. 89 ; Sachau's translation, p. 101.)

I give below the dates of the reigns of these 'Parsi' kings for comparison with the years of reign given by Albérōnī :

Cyrus	B. C. 538-529
Smerch's son	" 529-525
Cambyses	" 525-522
Darius I.	" 521-485
Xerxes (Ahasuerus)	" 485-465
Artaxerxes I. (Longimanus)	" 465-425
Xerxes II.	" Two months.
Sogdianus	" Seven months.
Darius II. (Notus)	" 424-405
Artaxerxes II. (M'nemon)	" 405-359
Artaxerxes III. (Ochus)	" 359-338

It is in this table of 'Chaldaean' kings given by Albérōnī that we find the Achaemenian kings of Persia, whom Alberoni has termed "The Kayānians".

In the ninth table of Alberoni, he gives the names of thirty-four kings of Egypt who had reigned for 894 years. In this table we find that "the Persians till Darius" had ruled

for 114 years (B. C. 445-331). The tenth table gives the names and years of reign of the kings Macedonia, the Ptolemaeans. The eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth tables contain lists of names of the Roman and Christian kings, and kings Constantinople.

Whilst commencing with the subject of the chronology of the Persians, he divides his work into three parts: I. From Gayomarth till the time when Alaxender killed Darius; II. From that time till the time when Ardašīr ben Bābak came forward, and the Persian empire was re-established; III. From that time till when Yazdajird ben Sāhryār was killed. Regarding the chronology of the first part, the aim of his undertaking being to collect and to communicate chronological material, not to criticize and correct historical accounts, Alberoni says, he records such facts on which the scholars of the Persians, the Herbadhs, and Maubadhs of the Zoroastrians agree among themselves, and which are received on their authority.

Albéroni has divided part I into three parts: I. The Peshdadhians, 2. the kings of 'Elan' = "people of the highland," the sons of Fredun: Salm, Toz and Eran, and 3. The Kayanians. Alberoni had found that there were gaps between these parts, on account of which the order and progress of chronology were much troubled and obscured. Albéroni has prepared three tables regarding the chronology and history of part I, from Gayomarth till the time when Alexander killed Darius: Table I, according to the opinion of the generality of the Persians, Table II: as Albéroni found in the book of Hamza ben Alhusain Alisfahani, who says that he has endeavoured to correct his book by means of the Ābastā'; perhaps Hamza wanted to say that he has taken only the names of the Peshdadhian and Kayanian kings of the Part I from the Ābastā; Table III: as found in Hamza taken from the copy of the Maubadh.

Albéroni has further derived his information from the biographical and historical books that have been translated from the works of Western authors, where an account is found of the kings of Persia and Babylonia, beginning with Frédun, whom they call Yāfūl (Pūl ?) and ending with Dārā, the last of the Persian kings. Albéroni finds that these records differ greatly (from Eastern records) as to the number of the kings and their names, as to the durations of their reigns, their history, and their description. Albéroni thinks that they confounded the kings of Persia with their governors of Babylonia and put both side by side. Albéroni thought fit to preserve this tradition in a special table.

As it is my intention to give in this paper, the references to the Parsi Achaemenians in Albéroni, I will give the details of the 'Kayānian' kings of Babylonia or Chaldaea as they are termed, from these four tables. I will give the names of kings from Kailuhrāsp upto Dārā ben Dārā, who was killed by Alexander the Greek :

Kailuhrāsp ben Kaiwaji ben Kaimanish ben Kaikubādh—till he sent Bakhtanassar to Jerusalem, who destroyed it,—the Bactrian	60	years
The same after that event	60	"
Kaiwishtāsp bin Luhrāsp—till the appearance of Zarādust al-herbadh	30	"
The same after that event	90	"
Kai Ardashir Bahman ben Isfandiyār ben Wishtāsp	112	"
Khumānī, the daughter of Ardashir Bahman Chihrazād	30	"
Dārā ben Ardashir Bahman, the great	12	"
Dārā ben Dārā till he was killed by Alexander the Greek, the second	14	"
	<hr/> 408	<hr/> years

If we compare these details with those found in the 'Zand-ākāsih,' Chapter XXXV, 34-35, we will see that Lohrāsp's descent is traced to Uzāv, son of Manuš, son of Kaé Pisīn, son of Kae Apivēh, son of Kae Kavāt. According to the 'Zand-ākāsih,' Ch. XXXVI, 7-8, Kaé Lohrāsp reigned a hundred and twenty years; Kae Vistāsp reigned thirty years till the coming of the Revelation; King Vistāsp reigned ninety years after receiving the Revelation; Vohuman, son of Spenddāt, reigned a hundred and twelve years; Humāe, daughter of Vohuman, thirty years; Dārāe son of Chirāzāt, that is Vohuman, twelve years; Dārāe son of Dārāe, fourteen years.

We find that the first table of Albéroni is entirely in agreement with the statement of the 'Zand-ākāsih'. We find in the fifth book of the Dinkart a corroboration of what Albéroni has said as to Lohrāsp having sent Bakhtanassar to Jerusalem ('Bētā makdis'). (See Dastur Peshotanji's 'Dinkart' vol. IX, p. 476; D.M. Madan's Dinkart, Part I, p. 433; See Ervad Tahmuras's 'Dānā u Minōy-i Khrat,' p. 93, Porsisn XXVI, 66: 'Aurésalim Yahūtān bé kand ū Yahūtān vasopt ū parganda bé kart'; see also 'Sacred Books of the East', Vol. XXIV, p. 65 and n.1.

In the Table II given by Albéroni taken from Hamza Alisfasānī we find;: Kailuhrāsp 120, Kaibishtāsp 120, Kai-ardashīr 112, Chihrazād 30, Dārā ben Bahman 12, and Dārā ben Dārā 14; that is, the list of the kings is the same as found in Table I, with this difference that the details given in the first table are dropped, that the other name of Kaiardashīr which is Bahman ben Isfandiyār is omitted and Khumānī (Humae) the daughter of Ardashīr Bahman is named Chihrazād in the second table.

The third table taken from Hamza from the copy of the Maubadh agrees entirely with the second, but with this difference that the epithet 'Kai' prefixed to the names of Luhrāsp, Bishtāsp and Ardashīr, is omitted in it.

The special table given by Albéroni, as he found it in books translated from the works of Western authors, beginning with Frédum and ending with Dārā, the last king of Persia, is the most interesting; it shows how about ten centuries ago, the history writers of Persia had tried to equate the kings of the Kayānian dynasty, nay some of their Pésdādian predecessors with some of the Assyrian and Achaemenian kings. I will, so far as possible, give only the names of the Parsi Achaemenian kings as found in this special list :

THE KINGS OF PERSIA, ACCORDING TO WESTERN AUTHORS.

Dārā Almāhī I, <i>i.e.</i> , Darius	9	years
Koresh, <i>i.e.</i> , Kaikhusrau	8	"
Cyrus, <i>i.e.</i> , Luhrāsp	34	"
Cambyses	8	"
Dārā II	36	"
Xerxes (Ahashvirus) ben Dārā, <i>i.e.</i> , Khusrau I	26	"
Ardashīr ben Xerxes, called Longimanus	41	"
Khusrau II.	30	"
Sogdianus, Notos ben Khusrau	9	"
Ardashīr ben Dara II	41	"
Ardashīr III.	27	"
Arses ben Ochus	12	"
Dārā, the last king of Persia	16	"
	369	years

As remarked by Dr. Sachau in his 'Annotations': "A similar table occurs also in the author's *Canun-Masudiccus*."

If we compare the list of the 'Chaldaean kings' quoted above, we will notice that the so-called Chaldæans ruled over Babylonia for 228 years, whereas these 'kings of Persia' ruled for 369 years, i.e. 141 years more than the 'Chaldæans'. Whereas in the 'Chaldaean' list Cambyses is stated to have ruled 8 years, in this special list prepared according to Western authors, he is shown as having ruled for 80 years! It is likely that the 'Chaldaean' list is correct. In the Persian list 'Kioresh' and 'Cyrus', equated with 'Kaikhusrau' and 'Luhrāsp', are stated to have ruled 8 and 34 years respectively, the 'Chaldaean' list assigns to Cyrus 9 years only. Whereas the 'Chaldaean' list gives the names of eleven kings, the special list of Persian kings enumerates thirteen kings. We cannot say which two names are superfluous; at least, we can see that 'Kioresh' and 'Cyrus' are two names of only one individual. 'Cyrus who rebuilt Jerusalem' cannot be the same person who 'demolished Jerusalem of the Jews,' i.e., 'Luhrāsp' as mentioned in Alberoni's Table, I, the Pahlavi 'Dinkart', and the 'Dānā ū Mīnoy-i Khrat'. The years assigned to the last two kings in the special list is 12 and 16 instead of 2 and 6, as found in the 'Chaldaean' list. If we were to place the number of years of reign side by side we can easily account for the difference in the number. The name of Darius the Median or 'Almāhī', as he is named in the special list is foreign to the list of the names of the Achæmenian kings as we know to-day. It was never known to students of history that 'Kioresh' was equated with Kaikhusrau by old writers of history before Alberoni. Whenever talking of Achæmenian history we must bow with deference to the great men who deciphered for the first time the trilingual Behistan Inscriptions; we will have to rely on the Greek historians, Herodotus, Xenophon and others, who preserved the history of the Fifth Monarchy of Persia, of the Achæmenides in its entirety, so far as they knew it; and we will have to search through the shattered remnants of the Achæmenian Parsi Kings in the jumble and confusion which we find in the historical works written by the Persians in Pahlavi or in Arabic. We do not know what remained of the history of the glorious past from the Kayānian king Vistāspa upto the end of the last Achæmenian Parsi king Dārā-i-Dārāyān, when the records existing in the Royal Palace at Persepolis were burnt. It is but natural that a nation would care to preserve in its archives the records only of the rulers of its own race. The events which took place in its country after its conquest by another nation must be sought after from the records of its conquerors. Before the coming into prominence of the Achæmenians of Pārs, the Median kings were in power, and Albéroni

has preserved a trace of the Median dynasty in his table of the Chaldaean kings as well as in his special table of the kings of Persia in the first of which he numbers 'Darius the Median,' and in the second he gives the name of 'Dārā Almāhī.' Before the eight Median kings, whose history has been preserved by Berosus, and who are supposed to have ruled for about 224 years, the Assyrians were the sovereigns of Persia. These Medians are supposed to have been Zarathustrians. We cannot exactly determine how many dynasties and which races ruled over Persia, after Kava Vistāspā. If we accept the statement of the Pahlavi and Persian writers of history that Vohuman, son of Spe ddāt, was a grandson of Kava Vistāspa, it is not possible for us to follow the statement that Vohuman Spend-dāt is the same as, or is the other name of, Artakhsīr-i-Darāz-dast, Artaxerxes Longimanus, and that he was a Kae. The chain of sovereigns between Vohuman son of Spend-dāt and Artakhsīr-Darāzast is missing and the historians of Persia, who depended on indigenous historical works written in Pahlavi by their own ancestors, thought that Vohuman was the other name of Artakhsīr. We, therefore, find only four names of the last Achaemenian rulers, who are termed Kayānian, in the first three tables of Albéroni : Kae Artakhsīr, Humāe Chihrazād, Dārā son of Kaé Artakhsīr and Dārā son of Dārā, the first four names of Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius and Xerxes, having been lost. The history of the nation or nations which conquered Persia after Vohuman Spend-dāt, having been missing, it was natural for the readers of history to confound Kava Vistāspa son of Lohrāsp with Vistāsp as on of Arsāma, the Achaemenian father of Darius I, who ruled over Persia from B. C. 521 to 485. It was the next step to place Zarathustra, the prophet of Irān, during the time of the Achaemenian Vistāspa son of Arsāma in the seventh century before Christ, in about 635 B.C.

But one important point demands our attention before we close our subject : Had Albéroni any knowledge of some of the Chaldaean kings, the sovereigns of Persia, having been mentioned in the books of the Old Testament, in Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther, written after the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, after Cyrus, "the anointed of the Lord," had freed the Jews from bondage and set them to rebuilt the temple of king Solomon in Jerusalem ?

Albéroni did certainly know the story of Cyrus, whom Ezra calls "the anointed of the Lord," having rebuilt Jerusalem. Albéroni did know the name 'Ahasuerus,' by which the Jews knew 'Khsayārsa' Xerxes. Albéroni did thoroughly know

the story of the Jews from the Old Testament, as well as from other Jewish works of history; and he has given the record of the Jews from Adam upto the time of the Babylonian captivity of the Jews, as appears from the chronological tables referring to Jewish history, given by him in his work.

I request the Iranian scholars to project a correct estimate as to the ostracism of the Achaemenians from the history of Persia written by the Persians.

WHO WAS VAFRANAWAZ ?

By

J. K. DESAI M.A.

‘ए राजस कोण हतो अने एनी वार्ता श्रुवावन नो इसारो छे ते चौकस भालम पडतु नथी¹ ।’ These are the words of Dr. Modi in his valuable book spoken naively and in the truest scholarly spirit. Who was Vafranawaz ? The Avesta scholars—both Europeans and Parsis—have given different interpretations of the word but none is as yet satisfactory. One of the Yashts² speaks explicitly about him thus :

“Vafranwaz,” the ferryman³, worshipped her. When a strong and victorious Faridum cast him upwards in the form of a vulture, he (Vafranwaz) thus flew three days and three nights to reach his home, but would not come down. At the end of the third night, at the time of strength-giving, breezy morning, he importuned the help of Ardi Sura. She heard his request and came to his help in the form of a maiden. She took hold of both his sides and brought him in a short time to the earth. “He is referred to even in the “Afrin-e- Peghamber Zarthost” thus⁴ :

“Be thou one who crosses the impassable Rangha, like Vafranwaz.” What should we infer about this personage from all these reference ? Our learned Dr. Modi takes him to be a general of Faridun, sent on high mountains for some purpose, where he might have lost his way. But this seems—we say with due deference to Dr. Modi—to be a far-fetched conclusion. Then the question arises : Who was Vafranwaz ?

Dr. Modi’s above mentioned inference seems to be untenable. The particular verb *uzdwānayāt* compels us to conclude that the person in question is *not* a human being. In his dictionary Kanga derives it from Av. uz.=Sans. उद्=Ger. ‘aus’ Lat. ‘ex’=out, up and the root dwan=to fly, meaning ‘to fly up,’ ‘to cause to fly,’ etc. This shows that the thing has *wings*, that it can *fly*. Again the words kahaga kaharkashe (i.e. in the form of a vulture Mod. Pars. kargas undeniably show that it is a bird, resembling a vulture. Then who or what is it ?

In the first place let us examine the root significance of the word “Vafranwaz.” It can be traced to Av. Vafra Pahl.

¹ See अवस्ताना विशेषनामोनी फरहंग वफन वाक्स p. 165.

² Aban Yasht, Para 61.

³ Darmesteter. Rt. Av. pere; Sans. पृ to cross

⁴ See आफरीने पेगंबर जरथोइत para 4.

*vaf*r, mod. Pers. *parf*=snow, kawaza from Av. Ni-vaz Pers. navāgidan=to cherish, to love, etc. Hence the word literally means 'One loving snow' which can be easily extended to 'One residing in snowy places.' This is, no doubt, an implicit reference to a bird 'resembling a vulture.' What bird can this be? None but the so-called Seemurgh. To prove it we shall have to resort again to the inexhaustible mine of information — Shah Nameh. About the habitation of Seemurgh Firdusi says: Referring to Sam who goes to the mountain to place Zal there, the poet says: 'There was a mountain named Alburz, whose peak reached the sky, and it was away from the populace. There was a big nest therein, which could not be injured even by the Saturn. It was a palace, the top of which kissed the firmament, and was not built by human beings. (Seeing Zal) the Seemurgh came down *from the clouds* and lifted him up with its claws.' When, after a few years, Sam, repenting of his unscrupulousness, and being inspired by divine agencies, returned there to take away Zal, the bird informed Zal of every thing at the time of their separation, and "gladdened his heart, took him up, and flew *along the clouds*, treating him with *endearment*. It brought him down to his father, after the *flight* was over.¹ The hair of his head was hanging down up to his breast. Sam blessed the bird and took away his child. From this it will be seen that the bird was not at all noxious. When Sam left the child there and went away with an adamant heart, the bird heard the divine voice: Thus:

"Take care of this milk-sucking child, as many brave warriors will be born through him. We have entrusted it to thee on this mountain: Wait and see what Time will bring forth." This heavenly message proves that the bird was not bad. Then why did Faridum fling it up? What harm had it done? To know it we must turn to Arabic legends. In Arabic it is known as "Oonqa" and as a rule it is said to be 'known by name but not by shape.' The author of the Persian lexicon 'Burhan-i Kate' describes it in these words:

'Auqā is Seemurgh of the western countries. It generally represents things that are either non-existent or unobtainable."

And about Seemurgh it is said:

"It is the Bird that brought up Zal, father of Rustom. Others maintain that it is the name of a philosopher, who instructed Zal.

¹ The words in Italics echo the Avestan description of Vafranwaz See *Supra*, p. 703.

The statements given above are corroborated by a Western scholar who says about the Seemurgh : "The wonderful bird that could speak all the languages of the world, and whose knowledge embraced past, present and future events."¹ Owing to its wisdom the bird might have been considered a 'Hakim,' but not as a human being. Thus, from all these controversial points, one thing is indisputable : that Oonqa and Seemurgh were not dissimilar. According to Sa'adi this bird lives on the mount Caucasus. This bird is said to have admonished even King Solomon and was always a source of relief to Persian kings. The Arabs have a tradition that this bird was formerly a man-eater, but it was cursed by the prophet Hauzallah and it disappeared from the world. Faridun² "caused it to fly up in the form of a vulture." Why ? Because it might be growing cannibalistic, day by day, and we know the peculiarity of vultures. Hence, it is possible that after Faridun had cast it up and it could not come down (owing to a Nirang of Faridun ?) it might have repented of its anthropophagy and requested Abān, who caught hold of its sides ("wings") and brought it down. All these most glaring facts tends to prove that so-called Vafranwāz was not a human being, but only the well known Seemurgh.

N.B.—After writing the above I have gathered some more information about the fabulous bird Seemurgh or Oonqa. I referred to the well known Persian dictionary Ghūyāth-ul-Lughd. In this lexicon Anqa is described thus :

"It is a long-necked bird, and is superior to other birds in that it has not been seen by any one. In Persian it is called Seemurgh, and it is related that in the country of the Masters of Ras a gigantic four-legged, man-like bird used to carry off children. Those people lodged a complaint before their prophet Haugala, son of Safawān, by whose prayers the bird was cast out in far-off island where it preyed upon elephants and snakes.

We have already seen the purport of this passage, that owing to the curse of the prophet Hatuzullah the bird was driven out from the world. Possibly this Hatuzullah might be Faridun, though we do not find any mention of him in the Koran. Now in Fariduddin Attar's Mustaq-ut tair Seemurgh is spoken of as the King of Birds, living at Koh-i-Kaf, on a high tree, that it is very strong and unapproachable, whom words fail to describe.

¹ Brewer. Dictionary of Phrase & Fables "Seemurgh," p. 801.

² In the Behram Yasht (para 40) we read : "which (Seemurgh) was kept by Faridun, the brave."

ANCIENT IRANIAN EDUCATION.

By

NOWROZ C. MEHTA, M.A. (Bombay)

Early Iranians laid great stress on the Education of their youths as can be seen from several of the ancient writings of the Persians. Besides historians like Herodotus, Strabo, Zenophon and Plato have thrown a considerable light on this subject. Because of its intrinsic value, their system of education was copied by several other nations, particularly the Greeks, so much so that Zenophon is said to have created his ideal of good education from Persian materials. We shall examine a few of the salient facts regarding the educational system of the ancient Persians.

Age for school education was a very early one. Herodotus and Strabo give the age of 5. Plato gives 7. The Vendidad and the Dinkard give 7. Between the age of 5 and 20 youths were trained to ride, to use the bow and to speak the truth. For example, Prince Shiavakhsh was placed under Rustom for training at the age of 5 and returned to court at the age of about 20. Similarly, Behman b. Asfandiyar (Ardeshir Darazdast) was placed by Prince Asfandiyar under Rustom for training who enthroned him on the retirement of Kai Gushtasp, the patron of Zarathushtra.

Hours of study differed according to different books, some recommending 8 hours for serious study. The Avesta allots 8 hours for sleep and the remaining to be divided between recreation and study. Buzorg Meher recommends 8 hours.

Their method of teaching was simple and impressive, the pupils being made to repeat what they learnt and also to study their own history to create patriotic zeal in them. In course of teaching the preceptors watched and discoursed on various topics. The same method was adopted by the ancient Greeks.

Iranian Teachers held high social position and were mostly sons of Satraps.. They were named Aethra-paiti, i.e. 'masters of learning.' They were held in high esteem by their pupils.

Physical Education was the main part of the curriculum, every Iranian boy being made to undergo compulsory physical training. Riding, drawing the bow, playing polo, swimming

and throwing the javelin were the five main items of their sport. Physical fitness is one of the religious tenets of the Zoroastrians. In the prayer of "Ahmae-raescha" the second gift which the Zoroastrian prays for, is 'tanvo dravatatem' i.e. strength of the body, and one of the best gifts of the Angel Bahram to Holy Zarathushtra was 'tanvo vispayao dravatatem' i.e. complete strength of the body. This sort of early training produced some of the finest specimens of warriors, archers and polo-players whose names have come down in history as masters of these arts. The Vendidad gives a list of 12 weapons used by the ancient Persians. In this list we find "the fourth a bow, the fifth a quiver with shoulder-belt and 30 bronze-headed arrows. "The word used for bow in the Avesta is 'thanvar' 'thanvana' or 'thanvareiti' derived from the root 'thang' i.e. draw or drive. The word for swimming in the Avesta is 'sna' = Sanskrit स्नानम्. The Avesta word for javelin is 'dru' from the root 'dar' which is the imperative of the Persian *daūdan* to tear.

Their diet after exercise was simple and substantial, consisting of bread, cake, dressed meat, cardamum and water.

Religious Education was of primary importance. Every school was attached to a fire-temple. Priests taught reading, writing, arithmetic and scriptures. Their position was very high, some acting as Chief Justice. Their income was through religious fines, tithe and voluntary gifts. Their main classes were: the Herbedan-herbed (acting as Chief Justice), the Mobed (High Priest), Zot (one who led at prayers), the Raspi (one who kept up the fire and helped the Zot and Mobeds (Chiefs of the Magi) and the Herbeds (Chiefs of Fire). There were several kinds of fire in ancient Iran like Clan or Village-fire (Adheran) Warriors or Royal Fire (Adhar-Gushnasp), Farmers' Fire (Burzin Meher) etc. Priests looked after these. Munificent gifts were sometimes offered to these fire-temples by kings undertaking a vow to do so on fulfilment of their desires.

Some eminent Priests. Pahr was the Mobedan-mobed nominated by Ardeshir I. Under Shapur II we read of Bahak and his celebrated successor Ataropat Marespendan and later on Mitrowaraz and Mitroakamid acting as High Priests. We learn from Eliseus of a great Mobed who by his theological erudition earned the title of Hamakden or 'one who knew the whole religion.' Among the famous Herbedan-herbeds may be mentioned the names of Tanser who helped Ardeshir I in reforming the religious scripts, and Zarwanbad son of Mihr Narse. We also hear of Ardaviraf under Ardeshir I who wrote the Divina Comedia of the Iranians. Son of Adarbad Marespand, viz. Zar-

dosht Adarbad and his son Adarbad Zardosht were also High Priests in succession. In Sassanian times Dadar b. Dadukht and Dastur Dad in the time of Yazdejard Sheriar were also famous High Priests.

Schools were the institutions where boys and girls were given lessons in honesty, truth and morality. Hence they were kept apart from places of debauchery and bazars which were the places of dishonest merchants who told lies to create demand for their articles.

This is all we gather from old books about their system of education.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN IRAN BY THE ARAB CONQUERORS. (Summary)

By

LT-COL. M.S. IRANI., I.M.S. (Rtd.) POONA,

Before the time of the Prophet the people of Arabian peninsula were idolatrous and were divided into clans and tribes and had no political unity. The new religion not only abolished idolatry and instituted monotheism, but brought about political unity of the whole Arab race. This burning desire of the prophet's soul was completely fulfilled before his death. From his epistles sent to potentates of foreign countries, it is evident that he did not wish the religion to be spread outside Arabia by force. These contain no threat of physical violence or divine displeasure. The rulers who accepted Islam are enjoined to protect their non-Moslem subjects, and not to oppress them, for which they were subject to the payment of *jazia* or the capitation tax; the Magians were also to be included among the protected people.

This policy laid down by the Prophet was strictly adhered to by the first four great Khalifs. Churches, temples and other places of worship of the protected people were immune against destruction. On the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem Khaliph Omar, the conqueror of two empires, refused to say his prayers in a Christian church when invited by the patriarch to do so, because he said if he did so, his successors would take possession of the church on the ground that Moslem prayers were offered there before.

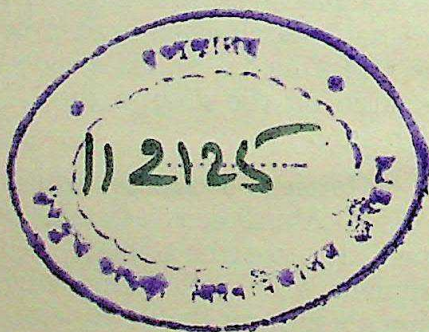
The conquest of foreign countries, which began in the reign of the first Khaliph Abu Baker, was undertaken solely for economic reasons and also to some extent, with the object of preventing the turbulent Arab tribes from fighting with one another and breaking away from the newly established Moslem brotherhood. The ease with which the Arabs vanquished the Imperial armies of Persia and of the Byzantine empire, with whom they clashed on the respective frontiers, and the realization of their own strength in opposing large and organised armies, tempted them for further enterprise; and the rich and unlimited spoil they got, whetted their appetite for plunder.

The Umeiyad Khaliphs, from all accounts, adhered to the practice of protecting the subject nations that did not accept

Islam, and respecting their places of worship on the payment of the capitation tax and observing certain rules. In some instances over-zealous and vindictive Arab leaders did damage or destroy religious buildings to wreak their vengeance on rebellious subjects, but this was not a common practice and was not appoved by the Khaliphs who punished the perpetrators of such sacrilege.

Persian levies, especially from Khorasa, supported the Abbasid cause, and it was with their help that the new dynasty was raised to the throne and maintained there. During the Abbasid rule Persian influence predominated at the court, and the ministers and officials of the state were selected from the Persian converts. Persian manners and dress were adopted at the court and became generally fashionable.

Persian noble men and chiefs willingly went over to Islam on account of special privileges and advantages offered to the followers of the faith. The worldly gains were great and they could not resist the temptation for long. The well-known and authentic instance of the independent ruler of Tabaristan is typical in which Mazyar, the Zoroastrian king of the province, was invited by Abbasid Khaliph Mamun (713-733 Christian era), who offered him a title and other inducements if he came over to Islam. Mazyar succumbed to the temptation and gave up his ancient faith. In many other cases defeated rebels accepted Islam to escape punishment of death or lifelong slavery



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